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MEMOIRS

OF

THE DUKE OF SULLY.

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Sully's Mem.rs Vol. 5.th

Published 1810. by W. Miller, London.

THE

MEMOIRS

OF

THE DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME-MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY

CHARLOTTE LENNOX.

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED AND CORRECTED; WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES, SOME LETTERS OF HENRY THE GREAT,

AND

A BRIEF HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

EMBELLISHED WITH PORTRAITS.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR WILLIAM MILLER, ALBEMARLE-STREET;

BY W. BULMER, AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW, ST. JAMES'S.

1810.

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MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XXIX.

1610—1611.

The reasons why the princes, grandees, and ministers hated Sully: he opposes the unjust proceedings of the council: refuses to sign a *comptant* at the queen's request. Quarrels in full council with the duke of Bouillon. Disputes in the court and council. Coronation of Lewis XIII. Sully goes to Montrond, and is taken ill there: reasons for the queen-regent and the ministers recalling him: the reception given him by this princess, who afterwards takes part with Conchini and the ministers against him. His resolution in opposing the unjust demands of the grandees, and the dissipation of the royal treasures: the uneasiness he suffers on this occasion. He quarrels with Villeroi and d'Alincourt in full council. The princes, lords, and ministers, enter into a confederacy against him. He takes a resolution to retire for ever from court: different opinions concerning his retreat. He resigns the superintendance of the finances, the government of the Bastile, &c. The prudent advice which he gives his secretaries: their obligations to him. He prevents the artifices of his enemies to ruin him: his letters to the queen regent for this purpose, in which he justifies his conduct, and his administration: the queen's answers. The king encreases his pension. He gives a general account of his public and private conduct; of his wealth: and of his domestic affairs: his faithful performances of the promises he made to Henry IV.

WHAT I have just related in the preceding Book respecting Cleves, and the conduct of the queen-regent towards me, took from me, at length, all hope of bringing back the court to just notions upon the two chief points of government, the conduct of foreign affairs, and the management of the finances:

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on the contrary, the changeableness of the prince, what I saw daily pass before my eyes, and, above all, the air of dissimulation which in the last place they had recourse to, convinced me that they would never get out of the confusion in which the affairs of the council seemed to be lost, but by such an extrication as I was always afraid of. In order to bring that about, some time was necessary; for connections so strong and so well cemented as those which the king had formed for the destruction of the house of Austria, with all those of the princes interested in its destruction, are not broke all at once, nor sometimes without a struggle which has mischievous consequences. But I have no reason to doubt but that the queen-regent and her counsellors employed all their arts to make them ineffectual. That prejudice in favour of what they called the party of religion; the hatred they bore to all Protestants, whether French or foreigners; a natural inclination, strengthened by habit, to unite with Spain, every impulse of which they could not help following publicly, when, the designs of Henry the Great becoming manifest, they were convicted of supporting a cause at once odious and desperate: it could not be expected that the force of these motives was abated, when, by an unexpected stroke, they found themselves upon the point of accomplishing what they had so ardently desired. My religion, my engagements, the advice I had given to the late king, of which at least the certain effect would have been the free exercise of the Protestant religion in France, and in all Christendom, even the death of that prince, which seemed to declare me the only repository of his sentiments, and the executor of his designs, all the glory and honour of which must necessarily reflect upon me: these were

their motives for hatred against a man who had already so many powerful enemies; and, by the care which Sillery and Villeroi took to enforce them, they could not fail of having a speedy effect.

Another motive, less openly declared, but probably stronger than all the others, because it directly attacked those private interests, united them all a second time against me. This was a too exact and too impartial administration of the finances, for persons whose avarice had already, in imagination, engrossed to themselves all the treasures of the late king. I have, on this head, an infinite number of circumstances to relate, which certainly will not do any honour to the French name; but it would be to no purpose to be silent, since they are generally known. The reader then may here see some of the most important of them: they will serve to give him an idea of the court at that time.

I shall begin with the favourite of the queen-regent. He cast his eyes at first upon the post of first gentleman of the bed chamber, not that this dignity was capable of satisfying his ambition, but it was necessary to begin by obtaining a rank which might take away the disproportion that had hitherto been, between him and the other courtiers. To this motive was added some personal resentment against Bellegarde, the cause of which I shall not relate, because it would lead me into too long a discussion. It was highly flattering to the vanity of Conchini that the first step he was seen to take at court, should put him upon a par with his rival:* he therefore caused it to be proposed to the duke of Bouillon, to treat with him for this post. Bouillon, who really

* The marquis d'Ancre (for so he began then to be called) had a difference with the master of the horse, the particulars whereof may be seen in the History of the Regency of Queen Mary de Medicis.

intended to sell it, readily accepted the proposal, and was well paid for his compliance; for, in the first place, he obtained a suppression of the offices established by his majesty in the neighbourhood of Sedan, for levying taxes upon all goods and merchandizes exported and imported; so that this gratuity may, without exaggeration, be said to be worth more to him than his whole principality. To this Conchini added two hundred thousand livres, under a pretence that he had been promised that sum upon surrendering his city. I represented to them that the duke of Bouillon had been exactly paid all that was promised him, and if they looked into the account, they would be convinced of it: but what I said was not regarded, and all the expense Henry had been at to get possession of Sedan, ended in paying twice for the place, which, after all, was still in Bouillon's hands.

Conchini, however, did not effect his purpose so easily as he had imagined: the count of Soissons, as I have already hinted, opposed him, as well in that, as in his solicitations for the archbishopric of Tours; but he did it in such a manner as left him room to hope there was a possibility of gaining him; and Conchini soon found the means. He caused the government of Normandy to be given to him, and to this end did not scruple to take it away from the second son of France. The late king, that he might avoid creating any jealousy among those who aspired to this government (which I had refused with the condition of changing my religion annexed to it), and willing to oblige Fervaques, who well deserved that he should have this consideration for him, had bestowed it upon his own son. It was not possible for me to give my assent to this action of Conchini, or to the gratuity given by the council to

the count of Soissons, at his majesty's expense, by purchasing, at a high price, some very inconsiderable claims which the house of Montaffié had in Piedmont, of which mention has been already made. However, notwithstanding all my remonstrances, the bargain was concluded. It was now their custom to suffer me to talk, but to act without me.

Conchini found out a method how to dispose of part of the king's treasures, without its appearing that the sums raised by those means were received or employed for his use. This was by persuading the queen to continue the issuing of *comptants** as the late king was used to do. She wrote the following letter to me upon this occasion, dated the 15th of June:

"Cousin,

"I am resolved, for one year more, to continue "the *comptants* for the payment of those sums which "the late king, my lord, ordered the treasurers of "the exchequer to deposite in his privy purse: Bé- "ringhen shall distribute the money arising from "hence to the same persons as formerly. I there- "fore send this to acquaint you, that it is my desire "you should direct the treasurer of the exchequer "at present in office, to pay into the hands of the "aforesaid Béringhen, the said *comptant* for the "July quarter."

* The *comptants* were orders for payments of money, or receipts for sums paid by the king's order, without specifying in what manner the money so paid was employed. Henry IV. and Lewis XIII. or their ministers, severely felt the abuses that might be made of them; but an infinite number of expenses, which interests of state required to be kept secret, prevented their being abolished. Cardinal de Richelieu determined to put an end to them, but in lieu thereof to leave a million of gold in the king's hands for his private expenses, and to be disposed of at his pleasure. Test. Polit. Part. II. p. 143.

The next day Puget and d'Argogues brought one of these *comptants* to me that I might settle it, and write underneath an order for the payment. I took it, and at the first glance did not observe that it contained any thing but a great number of sums which the late king caused to be paid in this form: but, the amount of the whole appearing to me to be excessively large, instead of looking any farther, I told the bearers, that it was true the conduct of Henry IV. seemed to authorise this form, but that at present this writing did not appear to me to be any longer a sufficient discharge to him who should venture to give an order for its payment. They replied, that, if I would take the trouble to read to the end of the paper, I should find my objection removed by a discharge so valid, that I need not have recourse to any other person for it. I continued to read, being curious to know how a paper, which seemed to contain nothing more than the articles of a *comptant*, and that not very long, should produce a sum of nine hundred thousand two hundred and ten livres and fourteen sols, which I had seen by casting my eyes upon the sum total. My curiosity was soon satisfied: the two or three first articles were followed by others with which I was not greatly pleased, and which seemed only inserted there, in order to prepare me for a morsel still harder to digest: this was a single article of four hundred thousand livres, with no other explanation than these few words, which were not very likely to banish my scruples: "Paid into the hands of the late "king."

I stopped short, and looking earnestly upon Puget, asked him whether this ingenious trick was of his own invention; then resolutely told him, that the late king had never taken up so much money at

once for his private purse: and that I had good proofs of his having never received this sum, either in part or the whole. He still continued to answer with the same indifference, that what I should see at the bottom would remove all difficulties. This was four or five lines, written by the queen herself, and in these terms: "We have examined the arti- "cles of the above *comptant*, amounting to nine "hundred thousand two hundred and ten livres and "fourteen sols, and know that this sum was really "disbursed by the command of the late king, my "lord, to be passed in the form of a *comptant*, as "usual, which he was prevented from by death. "We are satisfied that the said articles are all just, "and order an acquittance of *comptant* to be expe- "dited, to serve as a discharge for Puget, treasurer "of the exchequer. Given at Paris, July 16, 1610, "signed, Mary."

It did not immediately occur to me what resolution it was proper for me to take; but, after a moment's reflection, "Monsieur Puget," said I, "what "I have read does not explain to me for what rea- "son so large a sum is demanded of me; for I can "never be persuaded that the late king received it. "It is in vain therefore, that you press me to sign "it upon that supposition: you must consequently "be satisfied with this paper, such as it is, for your "discharge; for, you may depend upon it, I will "add nothing to it." The affair did not rest here: they renewed their endeavours to obtain my signature with as much obstinacy as I refused it; for two whole days I was persecuted about this *comptant:* at last they left me in quiet, and it remained among he rest of my papers; but neither the queen-regent nor Conchini ever forgot it. The favourite thought this but a bad example for those whom he was

endeavouring to bring to a perfect conformity with all his desires: as for the queen, her resentment at my conduct on this occasion was so great, that she could not, with all her art, conceal it; and if till then, she had at times made some slight reflections upon what the king her husband had often said to her of the great use I should be to her in the administration of affairs, from that moment all remembrance of it was erased, and gave place to a settled resolution to bestow my employments upon a person who would be more tractable.

The chancellor gave me an example of that sort of behaviour they expected; but, instead of following it, I could not help reproaching him one day with a fraud truly unpardonable, on occasion of a letter of exemption for the purchase of the registry of the parliament, and of the Châtelet of Paris, which was shown in full council, as having been expedited and sealed by the late king, although I knew that he had obstinately refused to grant it, notwithstanding Villeroi had, at different times, used his utmost endeavours to prevail upon him. The law ordains, that, when the king dies, his seal shall be broken. This the chancellor not only neglected to do, but even dared to make use of it to authenticate several false regulations in favour of Conchini and some others, and continued this practice during five years after the king's demise, for which he had a double conveniency, as his son, who was secretary of state, forged all those writings, which he put the last hand to. Monsieur the admiral * received the assistance it gave him, as if it came from heaven. He brought to be registered in the parliament letters patents for duke and peer for the lordship of Damville in as good, and perhaps better form,

* Charles de Montmorency, duke of Damville.

than they would have had if Henry IV. had been living.

I find a second letter from the queen-regent of the same date with the former, but it was on a subject of less importance. It related to a breach which was to be repaired in the fortifications lately raised before the city and castle of Vendôme, at the desire of the sieur Jumeaux, who was governor of it.

It would have been very difficult, exposed as I was to frequent quarrels with the ministers and nobles, to have avoided one with the duke of Bouillon, who on all occasions gave me proofs that he had not forgot or pardoned my having always preferred the king's interest to his, and who only waited for some opportunity to shew his resentment of it. He one day proposed in the council, that all those who were in possession of the chief offices and employments in the kingdom, should be required to give in accounts of receipts and expenditure, to be examined there. The council received this proposal in the same spirit with him that made it; for, general as it seemed, yet it was levelled at me alone; and Bouillon undertook to give me notice of it, by saying to me, in full council likewise, that, being a man who loved method and exactness, and who was always desirous of setting others a good example, he did not doubt but that I would begin, by laying before the council those accounts which related to my post of master-general of the ordnance. I replied, in an accent and manner which possibly he did not expect, That whenever the king and queen were pleased to require it, I would lay my accounts before them, and with so much the more willingness, as I was well assured they would find nothing in them but what would be to their satisfaction, and my honour: that, in a minority, the princes of the blood repre-

sented the king's person likewise, therefore I would give them the same satisfaction; but that I was too well acquainted with the extent of the rights and privileges of my employment, not to know that, to make it accountable to any other tribunal, was to debase it. "Sir," replied the duke, "it appears to me that "the constable and the marshals of France having "a right to take cognizance of all affairs of the "army, as they fall immediately under their inspec- "tion by the nature of their offices, so they may "likewise of all posts and employments relating to "it: and yours is one of the chief of that kind." "I see plainly, Sir," returned I, without endeavouring to conceal my resentment at this procedure, "that you have long designed me this affront, "and that you are artfully seeking to support your- "self with M. the constable, whose rank, merit, "and years, I honour and esteem, and for whose "friendship I am greatly obliged. I do not appre- "hend that any dispute will arise between him and "me upon this matter; but as for you and all the "others, I declare that I do not think myself ac- "countable to you in what regards my office, but "to the king alone." "You must at least acknow- "ledge, Sir," replied the duke of Bouillon, "that, "your patent being directed to us, it implies that "we have some degree of authority there." "Sir," said I, "you have either read it very slightly, or but "ill understood what you read, since, if what you "assert be true, I am likewise accountable to the "mayors, the sheriffs, and the captains of the city- "gates, in what regards my employments, since the "patent is directed to them as well as to the mar- "shals and governors of France; but, if you are "really ignorant why those clauses are inserted, "now know from me, that it is in order that I may

" be assisted by all those persons in whatever I re-
" quire of them, which carries rather an idea of
" superiority than the contrary."

The queen, who found that the dispute was growing warm, and that it might produce a quarrel between us, imposed silence upon us both, and introduced another question. Bouillon's flattery to the constable missed of the effect he proposed by it, for I was as much beloved by that nobleman for the services I had done him in some very difficult circumstances, as Bouillon, who had drawn him into those circumstances, was disliked by him. When the council broke up, he told the queen, in Bouillon's presence, that his claim was ill founded; then, addressing himself to the duke, he entreated him not to make any more attempts to engage him in his personal resentments and schemes of revenge. This quarrel made a great noise at court, because the friends of each party thought it incumbent upon them to engage in it. It was not here as in the council: my party was now greatly superior to his. The families of Guise, Longueville, and many others, declared themselves openly for me.

Nor did Conchini and his wife continue long to be in good intelligence with the ministers and the other chief persons of the state. It is the fate of connections, produced by a spirit of interest, that the same cause which gives them birth, destroys them with the greater facility. Hence followed a thousand scandalous scenes: they came openly to reproaches and abuses, which, from some remains of decency, should have been stifled. As the whole court was actuated by the same spirit, it was soon filled with hatred, jealousy, and faction; none but base or criminal methods were employed in disputing for favours or in obtaining them; some old

grudge or some new resentment embittered every mind, and the most sanguinary catastrophes were often apprehended among persons of the highest rank: it became necessary to watch them continually, to prevent the fatal effects of their quarrels. The public was not ignorant of the motives which animated one against the other, all the princes of the blood, the constable, the master of the horse, the duke d'Epernon, and many more. In these dissensions Conchini had always the greatest part;* sometimes, while the balance was held between these illustrious rivals, the favours for which they disputed fell into the hands of mean, inconsiderable persons. Discord, confusion, injustice, and fraud, all the evils which follow the contempt of subordination, poured in like a deluge upon the court and council, and more than once revenged the insulted memory of Henry the Great upon his domestic enemies, by those very means which they had made choice of to revenge themselves.

There was not any of the European powers who did not, by their ambassadors, acquit themselves of what they owed to this great king: but it was easy to distinguish among them, those who were more sincere in their compliments of congratulation for the accession of the new king to the throne, than in those of condolance for the loss of him whom he succeeded. There were found Frenchmen base enough to say to the ambassadors from the king of Spain and the archduke, these very words: "Your "tears need not wet your handkerchiefs much; it "was a stroke of providence that saved the king "and the Catholic religion from ruin." I shall say

* See the detail of these intrigues and court-quarrels in Siri, vol. ii. p. 327, and in the same historians.

nothing of the reception that was given to these ambassadors.

My heart was too much removed from every sensation of joy, to allow me to have any part in the ceremony of the king's coronation;* therefore, while every one took the road to Rheims, I set out for Montrond, after having obtained the queen's permission to go to one of my country-houses. I carefully concealed my design of not returning again to Paris, at least while I saw the same dispositions among the courtiers, and the same disorder in affairs: but I had really taken this resolution, which was confirmed by my being attacked with a violent illness immediately after I arrived at Montrond, and which I could attribute to no other cause, than the painful situation my heart had been in for four months. It was here also, that, to calm the perturbations of my mind, I composed those two little pieces of poetry, one of which is intituled, *A Parallel between Cæsar and Henry the Great;* and the other *An Adieu to the Court.*†"

If this adieu was not the last, it was not my fault: I saw very plainly that I could not remain there. The secret council held at the house of the nuncio, which I have already mentioned, was continually recurring to my mind: to this I added some words which a princess, my relation and friend, told me she had heard said to the queen at the same time. Many other circumstances of this nature filled my mind with the strongest forebodings that the whole Protestant Church was on the eve of a persecution.

* The ceremony is very minutely described in the Merc. Franç. the Royal MSS. P. Matthieu, &c. anno 1610. It was performed the 17th of October.

† These pieces are recited in Sully's Memoirs, at the end of the first volume, p. 469.

By a letter which Préaux wrote to me from Châtelleraut, dated November 10, he seemed to be of the same opinion; "Already," says he, "I fancy I see the theatre raised to renew our tragedies." With this melancholy expectation, my resolution was already settled, to dispose of all my employments to those persons who should be recommended to me by Conchini and his wife, as money seemed to be cheapest with them. I intended to send one third of the sums raised by these sales to Switzerland, another to Venice, and another to Holland, where I proposed to retire myself, when the storm appeared ready to break out, with all the money that by good economy I had saved out of my yearly revenue. Thus had I regulated my affairs; and that I made any alteration in this plan, was owing to the following circumstance.

That jealousy and misunderstanding which subsisted among the nobles and persons in office, rendered the ceremony of the coronation so tumultuous and disorderly, that it was expected some dangerous consequences would follow. I do not speak here of their disputes for rank and precedence only. The duke d'Epernon, although for some years past, as it appeared, intimately connected with Conchini, yet one day, in concert with the duke d'Eguillon, used language to him equally severe, injurious, and threatening, and this in public. The duke of Nevers, supported by the princes of the blood, treated Villeroi, Sillery, and Jeannin, in the same manner: they were seized with consternation and fear; they found that they had not power, and, doubtless, felt they were not innocent enough to repel these reproaches, and now began to be sensible of the need they had of me. It might have dangerous consequences, if the princes and nobles

were suffered to go on in reproving the ministers of state. I appeared to them to be the only man capable of putting things upon another footing, by the authority, the respect, and even the awe, which my birth, my character, and my manners, had acquired me in the council; and they so earnestly solicited the queen to make use of her influence over me, to oblige me to return, that she sent me by an express the following letter:

"Cousin,

"The coronation of the king, monsieur my son, "being happily performed at Rheims, we shall in "a short time set out for Paris; and because many "affairs that require your presence, on account of "your employments, and the great abilities you "have shewn in the exercise of them, will be trans- "acted the latter end of this year, and the begin- "ning of the next, I desire you will return to Paris "with all possible haste, that we may find you there "upon our arrival. So, in full assurance that you "will not fail, I beseech God, &c. Written at "Rheims, October 6, 1610.

"Your good cousin,

MARY."

I imagined, that by eluding this journey for the present, they would think no more of it; therefore my answer to the queen was conceived in these terms:

"Madam,

"My inclination, my duty, and the honour you "do me, by remembering me, are all motives "equally strong to engage my obedience to your

"majesty's commands; but a dangerous illness, "from which I am but lately recovered, has left "me in so weak a condition, and the certain know- "ledge I have, that my presence in the council is "not agreeable to several persons, who have more "authority there than I have, oblige me most "humbly to intreat you, not to be offended that I "delay going to court till I have recovered my "strength; and that when I do attend your ma- "jesty there, you will permit me, before those per- "sons whom you shall please to appoint, to give "you an account of my administration, to lay before "you the state in which I leave the affairs of the "kingdom, and the form I think necessary to be "observed to keep them in the same order and tran- "quillity they are now in. I must beg your ma- "jesty to believe that this will be the sole end of "my journey, and that I have no intention or de- "sire to concern myself any farther in the admini- "stration of affairs. I believe I have settled every "thing relating to my employments in such a "manner as the secretaries of the Exchequer and "the other officers can certify to your majesty, "that my presence may be dispensed with till the "latter end of the year; at which time, if my "health will permit me, I shall not fail to go to "Paris, to pay all possible obedience to the king's "commands and yours; and upon this truth, I "beseech the Creator, &c. From Montrond, "October 12, 1610."

This was not what the queen proposed to herself from the step she had taken to recall me; she perceived, that by delaying my return to court, I was only forming excuses for appearing there no more; or that if I did come, the part I should play there

would not be very proper to oblige those who had deserted her favourite, again to solicit his friendship, which was all she had in view; and to effect this, she made use of all my friends,* my wife, my son, and my son-in-law particularly: she began by an insinuating and gracious behaviour to them; shewed such an unreserved confidence in me, added so many kind expressions, and promises so flattering to their hopes, that they were now more than ever confirmed in their belief, that I should commit a great error by laying down my employments. She afterwards sent them, one after the other, to me, charged with the most obliging letters, and the fullest assurances of her favour and esteem. I endeavoured, but in vain, to make them sensible, that all this was deep art on the queen's side; their solicitations, their intreaties, became persecution, which at length fatigued me so much, that being desirous of avoiding reproaches, to which I saw no end, and considering likewise that my compliance with requests thus earnestly urged, would expose me to no inconveniences for the present, I resolved to throw myself, though fairly warned of my danger, into all the snares that were laid for me at court, and again postponed the execution of my first design. I therefore set forwards to Paris, but shewed no great eagerness to get there, since I did not reach that city till the sixteenth day after my departure from Montrond. The next morning, as I was preparing to go and pay my respects to the king, and the queen-regent, I was informed, that the king would

* "Bouillon had orders to go to him (M. de Sully) at Paris, on "his return from his country-seat, and to assure him of the queen's "regard for him, and that she would place the same confidence in "him the late king had. He accepted the queen's offer," &c. Hist. de la Mere et du Fils, vol. I. p. 112.

pass the whole forenoon in the Tuilleries, and that the queen was to dine at Zamet's. I did not doubt but that my attending her there would be very acceptable to her; and indeed she received me in the most gracious manner imaginable: she several times repeated, with an air of freedom, and even pleasure, by which I myself was almost imposed upon, that she would follow no other counsels but mine. She intreated me to attach myself to her son, as I had done to the late king: she told me, that she would not suffer me to lay down my employments; that she would take such measures, that I should execute them in an absolute independence; and desired me to begin with the accounts of the finances for the year 1611, as I used to do; none of the ministers having shewn themselves willing to take this care upon them during my absence, and she herself being desirous that I should continue to discharge it. The queen continued her discourse till dinner was served: I can relate only a small part of it. When she arose from table, she entertained me with the disputes that had happened during the coronation: she informed me, that the nobles had made an infinite number of demands, but that she had resolved to conclude nothing till my return: however, she avoided saying any thing particular on this head, but only told me, that she would talk to me more fully the first opportunity, and would let me know what were the services she required of me on this occasion: these words seemed entirely free from reserve. The whole court appeared so gay, that it was but too probable this serious conversation was extremely disagreeable: accordingly it gave place to others more common; and at three o'clock the queen returned to the Louvre.

I went thither the next day, to pay my respects

to the king, to the princes his brothers, and the princesses his sisters. This part of the court was still untainted; the governesses, the nurses, the other women and officers, which composed the household of these young princes, formed a kind of separate people, to whom the memory of king Henry was still dear: the source of their tears and lamentations were not yet dried up; I wept with them, while we talked of that good prince; they conjured me, by every motive which they thought could make any impression upon my mind, by the friendship Henry had for me, by my attachment to him, not to abandon the children of a father to whom I had now no other way of acquitting myself of what I owed him. Their intreaties and their tenderness could add nothing to those sentiments of gratitude and affection which filled my heart, and, to our mutual misfortune, could not increase my power of serving them. Upon my attentively viewing the three princes, I thought I discovered in the countenance and behaviour of the young king, strong indications of those happy dispositions which time has since ripened and disclosed. I imparted my thoughts to my wife when I returned home; but it was with grief that I judged, heaven would not give a long life to the second of these princes.*

I was visited by almost the whole court, with all those false shows of friendship, those praises and civilities, which never so nearly resemble the true, as when the heart has the least share in them.

* This prince died the 16th or 17th of November in the next year, at the age of four years and an half: a quantity of water was found in his head; the too great thickness of the skull stopping the perspiration in that part; which proved the innocence of Le Maître, physician to the children of France, who was accused of having poisoned this young prince. Merc. Franç. ann. 1611. p. 158.

Conchini, who had taken care to have it insinuated to me by Zamet and d'Argouges, that he was the person to whom I was most obliged for the gracious reception I had met with from the queen, and for her kind intentions towards me, waited three whole days in expectation that I should acknowledge this favour, by making him a complimentary visit; which the courtiers had accustomed him to look upon as a tribute due to his great influence and authority; or that I should at least send some person to discharge this duty for me. However, as he neither saw me, nor received any message from me, he condescended at length to make me a visit: but that I might not assume too much upon a step by which he conceived that he degraded himself, he was very careful to make me sensible that he came only upon his own business: and indeed our conversation turned chiefly upon his post of first gentleman of the bed-chamber; upon his pensions, which the queen had ordered should be carried to account in the same manner as those of Bellegarde; and upon a gift which he had lately received out of the offices of the gabelle in Languedoc, for which he had a brevet, obtained before the late king's death; but this I did not think proper to mention to him. I thought my answers to all this were not calculated to inspire him with any inclination to quit the subject he was upon, and for which he said he had come to me; yet he could not help it: but I believe it was not long before he repented it; for having slided in, by way of advice, that the best thing I could do, would be to comply with the queen in all things, and accommodate myself wholly to her will (which was tacitly charging me with ruining my own affairs by my obstinacy) I made him this short and severe answer, That I would pay an exact obedience to all the

commands of the queen-regent, when they were for the service of the king, the advantage of affairs, and the relief of the people; and when my honour and my conscience told me I might do it, without prejudicing either. Every word he uttered seemed to increase the aversion I had to him: he added something more, but with that caution which my behaviour to him seemed to authorise. I answered with equal coldness and reserve, and we parted very ill satisfied with each other; he, I believe, with fewer hopes than ever of moulding me to his purpose; and I full of grief at the advancement of those misfortunes which this presumptuous, insatiable man, without abilities, without experience, yet invested, with an absolute authority, was bringing upon France.

It appeared to me, from the day after this conversation, that things were greatly altered: the queen, whom I went to wait upon at the Louvre, seemed to have lost much of her former graciousness; yet she constrained herself to preserve some appearance of it, that the alteration might not be too remarkable, and to hinder me from imputing it to the conversation I had the day before with Conchini: she again mentioned to me the importunate demands of the grandees, taxed them with extravagance, and seemed resolved to refer them to the council; at which she desired I would always be present, to take care that nothing passed there contrary to the interest of the king and the state. She promised me, upon her royal word, presenting her hand at the same time to me, that she would support me there as strenuously as the late king had done. I lost all my suspicions at this declaration; I flattered myself for a moment that this princess having seriously reflected on all that had lately happened, was become

sensible of the danger of pursuing those measures they endeavoured to engage her in; but I was soon undeceived.

Prepared as I was for irregular proceedings, I could not, without extreme surprise, see that scarcely any business was transacted in the council, but what related to gifts to the nobles, to augmentations of the pensions to persons in office, the paying of debts which had been cancelled, the abatement of farms, and discharges of the farmers, and revocations of the contracts made for the rents, registries, and domains; creations of new offices, exemptions, and privileges; in a word, a thousand schemes to render the people miserable, instead of applying the treasures amassed by the late king to their relief, as, in justice, ought to have been done; since the circumstances of affairs were so changed, that the design for which they were raised could not be executed: but the rapaciousness of the great lords would have swallowed sums far more considerable. Here follow the demands, which the chief amongst them endeavoured to oblige the queen and the council to grant them. It must not be expected here, that this article can extend itself into a list, as I am afraid the other will appear, though I have cut off the demand of doubling and trebling the pensions, as a matter common to almost all the articles.

At the head of this list I shall put M. the prince, who caused me to be solicited, sometimes openly, sometimes in a covert manner, to support his pretensions to the government of Château-Trompette, to that of Blaye, and to the principality of Orange, extended as far as the borders of the Rhone. The count of Soissons demanded the government of the old palace of Rouen, that of the castle of Caën, and that an edict on linen cloth should be created for

his profit, which I have mentioned in its place. The duke of Lorrain demanded the payment of the whole sum expressed in his treaty, although I had settled this affair a long time ago, when it was agreed, that that sum should be reduced two thirds. The duke of Guise solicited for a marriage between himself and madam de Montpensier; for the revocation of the rights of patents in Provence, and of offices for collecting the duties at the gates of Marseilles: he demanded likewise that his debts should be paid. The duke of Maïenne demanded other sums, besides those expresed in his treaty. D'Eguillon, a gift of thirty thousand crowns, the government of Bresse, and the city of Bourg; and the embassy of Spain, with excessive appointments. Joinville, the government of Auvergne, or the first that became vacant. The duke of Nevers demanded the property of the gabelles of Réthelois, with the governments of Mézieres and Saint-Menchout. The duke d'Epernon, a body of infantry kept constantly on foot; the reversion of his government for his son; fortifications to be raised at Angoulême and at Xaintes; Metz, and the county of Messin, taken from Montigny. The duke of Bouillon demanded a sum of money, for the payment of old debts, which he pretended were due to him; the aides, tailles, and gabelles, of the viscounty of Turenne, for his use; and that the homage of this viscounty should be reduced to a simple homage; the arrears of his garrisons and his pensions during his exile; the right of holding general assemblies of the reformed religion. The chancellor demanded the money arising from the petty seals, his salary to be doubled, and letters of nobility in Normandy. Villeroi demanded, that a garrison should be maintained at Lyons, the royal

lieutenancy of the province taken from Saint-Chaumont; a marshal's staff for his son d'Alincourt, the repeal of a bargain which I had made for the repurchase of the crown lands in that province, and the mortgages of his registries and upon the king's lands.

It will be easily imagined that Conchini's demands were not less considerable than those of any other; a marshal's staff, the governments of Bourg, Dieppe, and Pont-de-l'Arche; a donation of the money produced by the offices of the gabelle of Languedoc, passed in the fom of a comptant; the profit arising from the reduction made upon public works, granted to Moisset and to Feydeau: such was his portion. Château-vieux, the chevalier de Sillery, Dolle, Déagent, Arnaud the intendant, Duret the physician, all the members of the queen's privy council, who solicited so well for others, did not forget their own affairs. It would be almost the same thing to enumerate all those persons of any quality who had a share in this profuse distribution of pensions, gratuities, privileges, appointments, &c. as to name those who were comprehended in this list, for every one had some claim there; the princes, governors of provinces, the lieutenant-civil, the prevot des marchands, and even the societies and sovereign courts; all the officers of the crown were to have their pensions augmented twenty-four thousand livres each; and the salaries of every member of the council raised in proportion, and their number to be considerably increased. In a word, there seemed to be a general conspiracy to pillage the royal treasure, which was now considered as a lawful prize.

The indignation which I felt in myself against a licentiousness that degenerated into an attempt upon the royal authority, would not permit me to

examine, whether the resolution I had taken, singly to oppose this multitude of rapacious courtiers, was absolutely prudent; but this nothing could persuade me from doing, while the place I held in the council authorised such a conduct. My honour, my conscience, my reputation, which I was called upon to support; the interest of the king and the people, whose only defender I considered myself, would not permit me to attend to my own safety: the last words, nay, the entreaties of the queen-regent, gave me a right to oppose them: and though I was very sensible that she did not desire I should understand them literally, yet, all things considered, I was going to render her a service so essential, that she could not, or ought not, to disavow it: and yet I had another motive, which I will not scruple to declare, since I would have my most secret sentiments known to the reader. That desire of glory, that self-love, which, when under the direction of reason and justice, has always appeared to me to have something great and noble in it; self-love, I say, dictated to me, that since, sooner or later, I must necessarily be removed from the ministry, I should risk but little by hastening the moment of my dismission; and that I should gain a great deal by giving a convincing proof, that this disgrace would not have happened to me, had I not opposed the unjustifiable measures I saw pursued by the council, and disdained the servile compliance of the rest of the courtiers: there remains to unfortunate virtue this last recompense for the disappointment of its good designs, that it shines with redoubled splendour amidst opposition and persecution.

The queen soon left me only this consolation in the painful labours I began to sustain; all her conduct served to shew me, that she had only recalled

me to Paris, and opposed me to the whole court at this tumultuous time, to reduce me to the fatal alternative of incurring the public contempt if I betrayed my duty, or particular enemies (which was still more to be dreaded) if I discharged it. A demand, which I had rendered of no effect in full council, at the risk of making myself a thousand cruel and implacable enemies, was afterwards privately granted as a gratuity by this princess and her confidant.

It is not my design to give a detail of all the schemes that, during this short time, were set on foot in the council, nor of what was said or done to render them ineffectual; it would be, in reality, to describe so many suits, where, as in law, they did not fail to make use of all the methods commonly practised to corrupt a judge too rigidly just, and against which I was so much the more incited to exclaim, as they attempted likewise to carry their point, either by secret plots or by open cabals. I shall give the reader one example, which will serve to shew, that the evil was great enough to demand remedies no less violent than those I made use of. The article relating to Villeroi, or rather to d'Alincourt, is not the least curious or important of those which the reader has already had some account of.

When d'Alincourt required, that a strong garrison should be placed in the city of Lyons, of which he was governor, and maintained at the king's expense, he had two ends to answer by it; one was, to increase his income, by the profits arising from this garrison; for indeed he had occasion for great riches, to enable him to live as he proposed to do, not merely as a marshal of France (a dignity which he expected to be raised to in a very little time) but with the state and retinue of a prince: vain pageantry,

and doubly ridiculous in one who had only large possessions to supply the disadvantages of a mean birth. The other was, to compel the Lyonnois, by the terror with which so many forces would inspire them, to sacrifice to him their most ancient rights and privileges, which he had for a long time designed to invade. As for the treaty made for the redemption of the royal domain, which in that province amounted to twelve hundred thousand livres, he was inclined to demand the suppression of it, because those who were concerned in that affair secured to him a present of an hundred thousand livres, if he could by any means hinder that redemption from taking place.

His designs, however, were crossed by two vigilant enemies, these were, the whole city of Lyons, and Saint-Chaumont, the king's lieutenant in that province; but to these he opposed the chancellor Sillery, and Villeroi his father, both very powerful in the council, and in high favour with the queen; these he set on to solicit for him, and with the more eagerness, because he found by my discourse, when he came to intreat me to be favourable to his pretensions, that he could not depend upon me in the council, before whom these demands were to be laid; he saw plainly, that he would have occasion for all his batteries; but he did not doubt of his success, when he was informed that his father and Sillery had brought over Conchini to his party, who afterwards prevailed upon the queen to espouse it likewise.

We were all assembled in the great closet, where a council was to be held upon this affair, when the queen came up and spoke to me in favour of d'Alincourt: I told her majesty with great frankness, that she must not expect I would give my vote for a

compliance with two such unjust proposals; that it was not reasonable the king should lose twelve hundred thousand livres, to put one hundred thousand in the pocket of M. d'Alincourt; that this was to open the way for every one else to get the like treaties for redemption of the domain, and other parts of the royal revenue, (which amounted to near fifty millions,) revoked over all the kingdom: that I would as strenuously oppose his other demand, although I knew it would be alleged, that the council had no right to take cognizance of it, and that it was only laid before it to get the first authorised; that by these measures we were going to expose one of the chief cities of the kingdom, hitherto well affected and loyal, to the danger of violating their allegiance, merely to gratify an unreasonable request, since, by the last treaty, which I myself had concluded with cardinal Aldobrandini for the duke of Savoy, his majesty being to keep possession of Bresse, and of both the borders of the Rhone, Lyons was no longer a frontier city, and having no more neighbours to fear, had no farther occasion for a garrison in it.

The queen seemed to be satisfied with these reasons, and turned towards Villeroi, as if to make him approve of them likewise; but he was not so easily repulsed; he gave her reasons in answer to mine, some good and some bad; and when he came to the article of the garrison, he told her, that it was indeed true, the Spaniards and Savoyards were not such near neighbours of this city as formerly, therefore it was not against their attempts that it was necessary to secure the city of Lyons, since they were moreover upon the point of becoming our friends and allies, but that the true enemies to be feared were the Huguenots, who being now in a better

condition, had probably a greater inclination than ever to make an attempt upon that city; he named Lesdiguieres in particular, as one from whom most danger was to be apprehended.

Berengueville overheard what Villeroi said to the queen, and repeated every word to me: this confirmed to me the truth of what I had heard concerning the secret council held at the house of Ubaldini, the Pope's nuncio. I saw with indignation, that the sole view of these gentlemen was to set the Catholics and Protestants in France, as well as in all Europe, at variance. I was no less shocked at Villeroi's accusation of a man allied to my family, and rising up hastily, I went towards the queen, who was still listening to him, and told her, that I had forgot to forewarn her of a thing which I was as well assured of as if I had been a witness of it, and this was, that Villeroi, in his design of rendering her favourable to his son's pretensions, cared but little by what means this was brought about; and did not scruple to make the most false and malignant representations against the Protestants, without even excepting one, whom a thousand great and good services ought to place out of the reach of suspicion; that his malice went so far as to treat them as enemies whom France had more reason to fear than Spain itself; that if her majesty, judging Villeroi's arguments and mine to be of equal weight, should resolve to view the Protestants and the Spaniards in the same light, nothing remained for her to do (and I looked stedfastly upon him) but to exclude us both from the council. This was a severe stroke upon Villeroi; but this man, who had neither abilities to speak in public, nor knew how to give his vote in the council, had not a single word to say in answer to me; indeed his surprise, and the

secret reproaches of his own conscience, might well render him dumb upon this occasion: all he did was to go to that part of the room where the chancellor and the duke d'Epernon were conferring together; and the queen also, quitting her place without answering me, went to join the count of Soissons and marshal Brissac who were talking in private. I foreboded no good from these several connections.

Nothing was done this day in d'Alincourt's affair, and I sometimes flattered myself that the measures I had taken would hinder it from being resumed; but it was only put off till his father and himself, the chancellor and his brother, by new cabals with Conchini and the counsellors, secured all the votes in their favour, even that of Bethune my brother, who came to me with an intention to make one effort more to soften me: he represented to me, that my opposition was in vain, and would have no other consequence but to bring every body upon my back; that I should have the mortification to see that my example would not be followed even by my nearest relations. I replied, that I never expected any thing else from him, but that I was absolutely determined to continue to the end faithful in the performance of my duty: and I kept my word; for in the first council that was held on this occasion, seeing that the counsellor to whose charge it fell that day, was ready to make his report, I asked him hastily, what was the business? he replied, that it related to some proposals which were to be made concerning the domain in Lyonnois. I interrupted him, saying, that I was well assured d'Alincourt, who was most interested in that affair, had formed so strong a party for him in the council, by the mediation of his friends and relations, that it was already resolved on, even before it was laid before

it; but that I protested against it, as being absolutely contrary to his majesty's interest; and that I desired a certificate of my protestation from the clerk, to send it to the parliament to be registered there, in order that this writing might one day serve to show the king the bad conduct pursued by his council after the death of the king his predecessor.*

* This account perfectly agrees with what is said in l'Histoire de la Mere et du Fils: "The duke of Sully," says that history, "continued to exercise his office for a fortnight or three weeks after "the coronation was performed, at which time the disputes on ac- "count of the Swiss at Lyons, which I have spoke of before, were "renewed, because Villeroi wanted to have their pay charged on "the general receipts of that city. The duke of Sully was so much "out of temper on this score, that not content with maintaining, it "was unreasonable to load the king with so great an expense, "when the inhabitants of Lyons where sufficient to keep guard "themselves, as they had always been used to do, he also treated "the chancellor, who sided with Villeroi, roughly, telling him. "they were all agreed amongst themselves to ruin the king's affairs. "As this was an affront to all these ministers in common, they "joined their endeavours to ruin the duke, the harshness of whose "temper was not to be softened." This writer afterwards relates the several steps that were taken to unite the ministers with the count of Soissons, the marquis d'Ancre, the marquis de Cœuvres, and others, against the duke of Sully. As this author is one of the duke of Sully's enemies, I quote him on purpose to confirm the truth of what the duke says, that he might have kept his posts, if he would have joined in the measures of the new council; and that his perseverance in the support of justice, the public interest, and the late king's plan of government, was the cause of his disgrace. All men of sense have not, however, given the same judgment on his inflexibility as the author I am speaking of, though all the enemies of that minister have agreed with him in it. In the appendix to the Merc. Franç. for the year 1610, p. 9, we find an entire discourse on this subject, which justifies him in a manner extremely to his honour. The Mémoires de Villeroi, vol. III. p. 259. also speak of him in the following manner: "The change which the said sieur "de Sully made in the condition of France, by retrieving her from a

These last words, which, it must be granted, were very severe, had no other effect, than to suspend, for a short time, the deliberation they were preparing for. No one replied; a general consternation seized all that were present: the chancellor alone, without shewing any emotion, said to the counsellor, "Lay other papers before us, and let us proceed to "affairs of a different kind; we shall find a time "for this when these heats and animosities are over, "as it generally happens in things that are most "contested." The counsellor obeyed; the other matters were discussed; d'Alincourt's demand, when it was next laid before the council, was granted without opposition: but this was not till I myself was banished from the board; which happened in so short a time afterwards, that it may be said it was by this vigorous effort I finished my career.

I had now no other part to take but to retire from court. I had given sufficient proofs to all France, that it was not for want of the most strenuous efforts on my side that the affairs of the state were plunged into disorder: it was become impossible

"state of indigence, and rendering her rich and opulent, by his eco-
"nomy and industry, sufficiently proves his abilities: his free remon-
"strances to the king, and his opposition to all great men, discover
"his probity; and his having been able to stand his ground amongst
"so many enemies, without sinking under his own apprehensions,
"or their threats, shews how great were his prudence and courage:
"even those who envy him are compelled to own, that he alone
"is more useful to the public, and has more knowledge of business,
"than all the rest together; and provided he would abate a little
"of his austerity, he would be a servant worthy of your majesty.
"Though they endeavour to keep him from having any concern in
"the management of affairs, yet they cannot stop him from freely
"speaking his sentiments of the little respect paid to the memory of
"the late king, and of the small deference shewn to our young
"prince, &c"

for me to apply any remedy to the encreasing evil. This no one doubted of: I struggled to no purpose; and all that I had for the price of my labours and my good intentions, was the hatred of those persons whose interest it would have been to second them: Conchini employed his favour, the princes of the blood their authority, the other persons in office their credit, only to render me odious. I saw nothing preparing for me for the future, but new mortifications and other troubles. All my actions, my words, nay, my silence itself, witnessed against persons who were inwardly struck with the injustice of these reproaches. My post of superintendant of the finances was eagerly coveted by two princes of the blood, each of whom was made to hope that he should gain it when I was driven from court. By staying there too long, I exposed myself to the danger of being violently dispossessed of all my other employments. Those of my friends, who were most sincere, and best knew the plots that were forming against me, were continually giving me counsels which I was convinced deserved to have more weight with me, than the solicitations of some of my relations, who were either carried away by a mistaken tenderness for me, or a regard to their own interest. I therefore resolved to defer no longer the resignation of my two employments of superintendant of the finances, and governor of the Bastile, which were the most panted after, as by them they could dispose of the revenues and treasures of the king, hoping to purchase by this sacrifice, which might have still some appearance of being voluntary, the confirmation of all my other dignities,* which it was

* The duke of Sully at that time bore the following titles: Maximilian de Béthune, knight, duke of Sully, peer of France, sove-

not in the power of my enemies to deprive me of, especially if I took the precaution of removing for ever out of their sight an object which could never fail of re-animating their hatred, by the effect of an unavoidable jealousy, while I continued amongst them; and, that I might do all at once, I fixed myself in a resolution to quit the court, and Paris itself, at the same time that I resigned all further share in the administration of affairs.

I prepared to execute this design in the beginning of the year 1611.* The queen appeard desirous

reign prince of Henrichemont and Boisbelle, marquis of Rosny, count of Dourand, lord of Orval, Montrond, and St. Amand, baron of Espineuil, Bruyeres-le-Chastel, Villebon, La-Chapelle, Novion, Baugy, and Bontin, chancellor to the king in all the councils, captain-lieutenant of two hundred gensd'armes under the the queen's command, master-general and captain-general of the artillery, surveyor-general of France, superintendant of the king's finances, fortifications, and buildings, governor, and the king's lieutenant-general of the provinces of Poitou, Chatelleraud, and Laudun, governor of Mante and Gergeau, and captain of the castle of the Bastile.

* Here follow several accounts of this event, very different from each other: "The year 1611 was begun with the retirement of "M. de Sully, who, at the instigation, and by the intrigues of the "two princes of the blood, was drove from the management of "affairs. The superintendance of the finances and the custody of the "king's treasures, were taken from him. The queen also took the "Bastile out of his hands, and gave the custody thereof to M. de "Châteauneuf [it should be Châteauvieux.] The finances were put "under the direction of messrs. de Châteauneuf, the president de "Thou, and Jeannin; but the last was also made comptroller-gene-"ral of the finances, which threw the sole management of them "into his hands, to the exclusion of the other two, who assisted only "in the direction." Bassompierre's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 308.

"The 24th of this month (January) M. de Sully quitted the "Arsenal. There is a report that a brevet is issued to appoint him "marshal of France, with a grant of some thousands of crowns as a "recompense to him. He has voluntarily resigned the direction of "the finances, *tanquam è speculo prævidens tempestatem futuram.*" Journal de l'Etoile, page. 256.

of opposing it; but this was only for form's sake. Here follows the letter she wrote to me upon this occasion.

" The prince of Condé and the count of Soissons spoke the first " of it to the queen, the ministers seconded them, and the marquis " d'Ancre gave him the finishing stroke. Thus he found himself " under the necessity of retiring in the beginning of February, &c." Hist de la Mere et du Fils, Vol. I. p. 235.

" Some have written that the duke of Sully shortly after the " reconciliation of the count of Soissons and the duke of Guise, " voluntarily resigned into the queen's hands, as well the Bastile, as " the superintendancy of the finances. Others say, that making an " offer to the queen to give up all his posts, he was taken at his " word: others have spoken differently of it. He himself says the " contrary in the letter he wrote to the queen, which was printed " shortly after." Merc. Franç. anno 1611.

This letter is afterwards recited, but is not mentioned in Sully's Memoirs. The memoirs of the Regency of Mary de Medicis, Vol. I. p. 57, differ also from the foregoing accounts, asserting that the duke of Sully earnestly solicited the queen to dismiss him, which she with great reluctance consented to.

There may possibly be some truth in both these opinions: namely, that the duke of Sully would, doubtless, have freely consented to keep his posts, provided he could have enjoyed them with the same authority, though not with the same satisfaction, as under the late king: but the efforts he made for that purpose alienated the queen, the great men, and the ministers from him, and at last encreased his disgust, as he found all his endeavours would be in vain. There is nothing in Matthieu's account discordant with this notion: on the contrary, he agrees with what is said in these Memoirs. " The " duke of Sully," says he, " after the death of Henry the Great, " immediately saw he should not possess the same authority under " the new reign as he did under the last; and that the enmity of the " count of Soissons would bring on his ruin. As the direction of the " finances had already been taken from him, the queen was advised " to deprive him also of the Bastile. This was esteemed so bold a " step, that it was said Henry the Great would not have dared to " have taken it, for fear of stirring up those of the duke's religion to " resent it. She, nevertheless, saw him readily obey her command " to resign the Bastile to Châteauvieux, one of her knights of honour. " Had he made any opposition, some of the great men at court, who

"Cousin,

"I hear, with concern, that you have taken a re-
"solution to discharge yourself of the care of the
"king my son's affairs, particularly of those relating
"to the finances, contrary to the hope I had con-
"ceived, that you would continue to perform the
"duties of that employment as you did in the time
"of the late king my lord. I entreat you to think
"well of this design before you put it in execu-
"tion, and let me know your last determination,
"that I may regulate mine upon it. So beseeching
"God, &c."

Paris, Jan. 24, 1611.

My answer to this letter being such as the queen

"were afraid his steadiness might be drawn into precedent, would
"have rendered this dismission more difficult. As soon as he was
"stript of this office, he saw the prejudice resulting from his having
"so easily submitted; and desired the queen's permision to go to
"Rosny, saying he would not stay there above three days. When
"he was there those of his religion cautioned him not to go back
"to court, where he had been so ill treated. His wife and brother,
"on the contrary, urged him to return, and he did so accordingly:
"but those who had been of the opposite opinion withdrew them-
"selves from him, esteeming it a meanness in him not to shew a
"greater resentment for such ill usage. The queen received him
"favourably; but the count of Soissons caused him to be kept
"from having any concern in business, which had been so much
"under his immediate management in the late king's reign. Seeing
"himself thus fallen both from his credit and employments, he went
"to Sully; and not thinking himself in safety enough there, he re-
"tired into the province of Bourbon." This writer adds, that one of the principal motives which induced the Protestants to endeavour to increase his discontent, was their desire of having his great fortune engaged for the advantage of the common cause: but that he submitted to the prudent advice given him by la Vallée, the lieutenant-general of the artillery, who has been mentioned before, to keep himself quite retired without having any concern in the quarrels which soon after happened. Ib. p. 22.

probably expected, she sent Bullion to me two days afterwards with the brevets of discharge from my two employments, of superintendant of the finances and governor of the Bastile, in the most authentic and, at the same time, most advantageous form, for me. Her majesty in these brevets declared, that it was at my repeated solicitation she had granted me leave to resign these places; and that I should not hereafter, upon any pretence whatever, be questioned concerning my conduct while I held them.

To these brevets was added another, dated January 27, by which her majesty, in consideration of the services the late king had received from me during a long course of years, and of which she made a most honourable mention, granted me a donation of three hundred thousand livres, to be paid out of the royal treasury, free from the duty of the fifth and tenth penny, and the duty given to the order of the Holy Ghost, from which his majesty was desirous I should be exempted. The letters I received the following days from their majesties, either contained orders to give up the castle of the Bastile to the sieur de Chateauvieux, whom they had made king's lieutenant of it, or acquittals for some jewels of the crown which I had delivered back into their hands, part of which consisted of a jewel called the *licorne*, and some other rings and jewels, for which a promissory note of mine for ten thousand livres was lodged with Puget, who now returned it to me, and part of three large rubies, for which I had given my receipt to madam le Grand, when I took them out of her hands, where they were mortgaged.

I employed the remainder of the time I staid in Paris in regulating my domestic affairs, in a detail

of which the reader would find nothing to merit his attention, except probably the counsels I gave to my secretaries. I had generally six principal ones, as well for the business of my four chief offices of the crown, as for any extraordinary affairs I might have to transact with the court, and I found it necessary to have a great many other clerks or transcribers under them: but those I shall mention here were my chief secretaries, whose abilities and exact discharge of their several duties well deserved that I should give them a share in affairs of importance, and my confidence in nice and delicate conjunctures; among these, the four brothers of the name of Arnaud were favoured in a particular manner by me. The eldest died while he was yet young, many years before the king was assassinated. I had so great a regard for the second, that, from being my secretary only, I procured him to be made counsellor of state, and intendant of the finances: the third went into the army, and was made a colonel of a regiment of horse: and to the last I gave the post of treasurer of France, and that of overseer of the highways. All my other secretaries were provided for in proportion. I believe I shall not be accused of having broken one of the laws of nature, which directs that the adherents to us, or, perhaps, we say more properly, to our places, should not be disappointed of those rewards, which it is in our power to bestow upon them according to their merit. Duret was preferred to be a treasurer of France, president of the chamber of accounts, and comptroller-general of the finances; Renouard was made auditor of accounts; la Clavelle overseer of the bridges and causeways; du Maurier, who had quitted the duke of Bouillon's service for mine, was employed in public affairs, to which his genius and

inclination led him, and has been since ambassador to Holland; Murat was made treasurer of the extraordinary of wars; la Fond, whom I have often mentioned in these Memoirs, acquired the favour and confidence of the late king, who, among other benefits that he bestowed upon him, made him overseer of his furniture; Gillot was made secretary of the ordnance. All these men were truly sensible how much they were going to lose by my retreat, and they omitted no sort of entreaties or methods to prevail upon me to alter my resolution. I will do most of them the justice to declare, that I believe, by acting thus, they thought they were serving my interest at least as much as their own: but as for the two Arnauds, the eldest especially, and two or three others, they were but little affected with my purpose. They would even have been grieved if I had altered my opinion; yet it was they who opposed it most. Arnaud the elder added, on this occasion, hypocrisy to avarice and ingratitude: meanly as he thought of Jeannin's abilities for the office of superintendant of the finances, for which he looked upon himself as much better qualified, he was one of those who solicited Conchini most earnestly to procure it for that minister, who, he flattered himself, would leave the chief management of it to him.

I penetrated into the inmost recesses of their hearts: I discovered views and designs which they probably imagined were sufficiently concealed; but I suppressed a resentment unworthy of me; and, taking them aside one after the other, I gave them such advice as, from the present conjuncture of the times, and the knowledge I had of their dispositions, was most likely to advance their fortunes: I told the elder Arnaud, that he had it in his power to

make his court very successfully to the queen, by the great number of excellent memoirs upon the most important affairs of the finances, which were lodged in his hands; and, that this sacrifice might lose no part of its merit, I advised him to offer it by madam de Conchini, seriously recommending it to him, at the same time, to devote himself faithfully to her service: I advised his brother to use his utmost endeavours to obtain the favour of the chancellor, of Villeroi, Jeannin, and, above all, of Conchini, who was the only oracle which it was necessary for him to consult in the exercise of his employment; and I desired the colonel himself to make his court to those very persons.

Duret, besides all those, might apply himself to the commander* and to Dollé; and this I recommended to him to do. Du Maurier was scarcely known to any but Villeroi; by carefully cultivating his friendship, which I assured him would be sufficient, and with the knowledge he had of foreign affairs, joined to the talents he possessed of speaking well, and of writing still better, he might easily obtain of the queen and the favourite, some honourable employment. To Murat, who was accountable for his conduct to the secretary of state, I recommended my interests at court; but to discharge this trust cautiously, and not without first asking Villeroi's consent. As for la Clavelle, his subtle wit, and proneness to flattery, secured him all possible success with the ministers, and even with d'Escures, who had more power than any body else to block up his way in the discharge of his office. La Fond's employment subjecting him wholly to the queen's will, or

* Noel de Sillery, brother to the chancellor.

rather to Conchini's, he had but one path to follow, which I pointed out to him. The advice I gave to Renouard, was not to seek any other recommendation from his own court, except the importance which the force of his understanding might give him amongst his associates; and I desired he would add to this employment, that of taking care of my domestic affairs at Paris. Gillot I placed with my son, to superintend the affairs of the ordnance; and, that every thing might be kept in the same order in which I had left it, I gave to my inferior secretaries and clerks such advice as I thought most suitable to their humbler station, and obliged those who shewed most reluctance to comply with my measures, to confess, at length, that, in what I had recommended to them, I had a particular view to that necessity which sooner or later would force them to follow the rules I had prescribed. This I accompanied with a compliment to each, and an obliging command to follow my directions, which had such an appearance of sincerity, that they yielded to my arguments; and they have not repented. I had no intention, however, to keep no more secretaries in my service; but, being now out of place myself, I had no occasion for men that were in, for this employment. I therefore took two new secretaries into my family, whose chief business, in a cabinet no longer occupied with the affairs of state, was collecting and preparing these Memoirs for the public.

This done, and burying in eternal oblivion those hopes, desires, resentments, and regrets, which any other in my situation might have formed, I bid a lasting adieu to the court, and with the same indifference as if it had not for so long a course of years

been to me the theatre of glory, wealth, and happiness.* I lost at one stroke a king who was my benefactor and my support, and with him my fortune, my friends, and my favour. This loss generally brings along with it so many other mortifications, that, to those who have suffered it, it appears but the least part of their unhappiness. If this additional ill-fortune is always the effect of particular enmities, certainly no one was more exposed to them than myself; yet history can furnish but few examples of ministers and favourites in disgrace who were as much honoured and respected in their fall as I was; for it sometimes happens that public esteem succeeds to private favour in supporting those who are unfortunate only, and when it does not form a counterpoise strong enough to incline the balance to their side, it is because these supposed oppressed persons have always some weak place by which they may be attacked, and which they find it very difficult to defend. Acknowledged probity and innocence will always have the advantage over envy, even at the very time when she seems most to triumph. My enemies, therefore (for I have a right to apply this maxim to myself), could satisfy but a small part of their rage against me, because the victory they had gained was one of those shameful advantages which it is thought necessary to conceal, and which is not enjoyed wholly without remorse; nor did the satisfaction my enemies felt for my disgrace, hinder some true Frenchmen, who eagerly embraced every occasion of shewing their respect

* "On Saturday, the 5th of February, the duke of Sully left "Paris, after returning the grant he had received of 100,000 "crowns. The dutchess of Sully blamed his haughtiness and pride "in doing so." L'Etoile, ib. p. 257.

for the memory of the late king, from honouring a man who expected no more than to set out on his exile in privacy and peace. I was attended at my leaving Paris by more than three hundred horse.

It was not while I was present, and in a condition to defend myself, that I expected to see my enemies use their utmost efforts against me: envy is a passion whose characteristic is cowardice, no less than malice and detraction: I was always persuaded that they would seize eagerly the advantages my absence afforded them. In effect, a few days were scarce elapsed after my arrival at Sully, when the whole court was filled with reports which tended not only to give a bad impression of my conduct in public affairs, but also to render me sufficiently suspected to afford them some pretence for commencing a prosecution against me, the shame and grief of which was all they desired I should suffer.* On this occasion I took such measures as I thought every wise man ought to take, which was to disarm envy the most effectual way, by preventing, with frequent letters, the minds of their majesties from being prejudiced to my disadvantage.

In the first letter, which I addressed to the king and queen, I complained that bad designs were formed against me: I offered to justify my conduct by every method they could propose, and even, if necessary,

* "He had no sooner retired," says the Histoire de la Mere et du Fils, p. 128, "but many prepared to pursue the victory over "him, in order to come in for a share of his spoils.—But the queen "at last, with great reason, changed her measures, it not being held "reasonable to treat with ill usage a person whose services had "been so advantageous to France, without any other pretext, than "that, by his having been useful to the public, he had at the same "time been so to himself."

by new services: and, after giving their majesties the strongest assurances of obedience, fidelity, and innocence, I represented to them with some freedom, that, if they had been as well persuaded of that innocence as they had given me room to believe, I should have received proofs of it ere now, by the orders they would have been pleased to give for the performances of the several promises they had made me, with respect to my places, and to the gratuities which the king had granted me: that the first artifice practised by my enemies, had been to defer, and afterwards to hinder, if they could, the effect of those promises, which, being so many proofs of their majesties good opinion of me, while they subsisted, it was dangerous to attempt any thing against me; and it was for this reason that I was so solicitous for their being accomplished.

To this letter I received an answer from the queen such as I could have wished: she observed in it, that my past services, and my present inclinations, were so well known to the king and to her, that it was not in the power of any person whatever to alter their sentiments with respect to me: that hitherto she had not perceived it had been attempted; but, if it should, it would be to no purpose: she assured me it was not owing to any ill-will towards me, but to chance alone, that some little difficulties had been found in performing the agreements between his majesty and me; but that they should be observed with the utmost exactness. This letter is dated March 7, 1611.

It was not long before I sent the queen another letter, of which I cannot dispense with myself from giving the reader some account, because what I there declared concerning the state of my private affairs, was exactly conformable to the situation I

found myself in upon my retiring from public business. I began with recalling to her remembrance the open profession I had always made of attachment to her person, and the proofs I had given of it, as well before as since her marriage; and here I mentioned certain particular circumstances, when I drew upon myself some reproaches from the late king for supporting her against him on occasions when I thought I was labouring equally for both their interests. This led me to an eulogium on the good qualities of the queen-regent, on which I founded the opinion I was, in this letter, to appear to have entertained, that she had no part in the persecutions raised against me at court.

This article I treated at great length, it being that for which the letter was chiefly written. I gave the queen to understand that I was well informed of the disadvantageous reports which were spread against me in court; of the obstacles my enemies were incessantly raising to hinder me from settling peaceably my private affairs; and, in a word, of the perquisites which their majesties proposed to allow me in the offices, of which I could not be deprived. I assumed a right from the good intentions which I supposed this princess had towards me, founded upon the repeated assurances she had given me of her esteem, to complain to her of those persons who rendered these intentions ineffectual. I insisted particularly upon the favour and protection I had reason to expect from their majesties while I was making that disposition of my affairs, to which, for the sake of peace, I had sacrificed my interest, when it would have been so much the easier to have disputed the ground with my adversaries, as the motives by which they acted being almost generally known, I had every advantage over them which I

could desire. I here laid down concisely the principal points of my management, and my share of that wealth with which, by my labours and economy, I had enriched the kingdom till the year 1610, when I saw all the measures I had taken to keep every thing in the same state of order and regularity at once overtuned and destroyed; adding, that time would show whether the kingdom owed most obligations to my enemies or to me.

I took this opportunity to obviate some of their most specious accusations: I represented to the queen the great folly and absurdity they were guilty of in exclaiming against me for the vast riches they said I had acquired during the course of my favour with the late king, when, in their hearts, they despised me for not making greater advantages of so fair an opportunity, and were fully resolved not to follow my example. The narrow bounds of a letter would not permit me to say all I could in my own justification: I only observed to the queen, that it was easy for me to prove that I had acquired that wealth, which they imputed to me as a crime, either by frugality and economy, or by the bounty of a master too generous and too grateful to leave a minister unrewarded who devoted himself with an assiduity, rarely seen in a superintendant, to continual labours for the public good;* that it was sufficient for me that all the gratuities I had received from my master

* He retired loaded with riches, which the time he had been in "the ministry had enabled him to acquire.—It may be said with "great truth, that the first years of his administration were very "profitable to him; and if any should say the last were no less so, "it must be allowed that, if they were advantageous to him, they "were greatly so to the public." Hist. de la Mere et du Fils, p. 128. One single proof from an enemy, such as the author of this History, will counterbalance a thousand others.

only, which he laid his commands upon me to accept; and this I could prove as clearly as the use to which I had applied them, which was more, I believed, than those who were going to succeed me would be able to say at the close of their administration. I told the queen that I hoped I should not be charged either with vanity or malice, if I affirmed that the wrong they were now attempting to do me, was a real injury to the state: that I never desired to be continued in the direction of the finances, but for the king's advantage; and that having their majesties for judges of my actions, upon whose equity and goodness I relied to hinder my enemies from commenceing a prosecution against me, the privacy I was going to enjoy would no longer appear dangerous to me; but, on the contrary, I should find it so much the more pleasing, as it began now to be suitable to my age, and would be interrupted with no reproaches, nor embittered by any remorse.

Towards the close of this letter, through which I had occasionally interpersed many offers of service, assurances of fidelity, and all those expressions of respect and obedience, which I thought I owed to the queen, I told her, that before I set out for my goverment, whither my affairs called me, I would give her notice of it, and receive her orders; and, if she thought I could be of any use to her in the assembly of the Protestants, to which I was summoned, I would go thither with the same disposition and readiness to serve her as the late king my master. Such was the purport of this long letter, which the queen answered by another, dated April 24. It was conceived almost in the same terms as her former letter: she left me at liberty to go to Poitou, or to the assembly of the Protestants, and to act there as I should judge proper, knowing better than

any other (those were her words) how I could be most useful to the king in either of those places.

But what completely secured me against all reverses of fortune was, that her majesty being desirous to give a public proof of her esteem for me, and how little it was in the power of my enemies to hurt me, granted me an augmentation of my pension, for which the brevet was expedited in less than a month after the date of her last letter. This augmentation was twenty-four thousand livres; so that altogether my pensions at that time amounted to forty-eight thousand four hundred livres a year. It was expressed in the brevet, that this additional pension commenced on the first of January, 1611, although it was dated the 20th of May; and that her majesty thought herself under an obligation to grant it to me, as well in acknowledgment for my past services, of which the most honourable mention was made, as to enable me to continue them for the future.

Notwithstanding this, I do not think myself dispensed with from proving that article of the foregoing letter, which regards my wealth. A superintendant of the finances, and any man to whom the management of the treasures of the kingdom has been entrusted, is accountable to the public for all his actions; nor would I refuse, if called upon, to lay before it my most secret thoughts, since it has been always my study to regulate them in such a manner, that they would, if known, not only subject me to no censure, for this is an indispensible obligation upon all men, but also that they might in some respect seem worthy to serve for a model to those who, succeeding to my place, would have the same engagements to fulfil. Happy if I could have reason to hope that this model would be effaced with

one more perfect. I shall continue therefore to give the public such an exact statement of my domestic affairs, following the method I began a few pages above, that any other person may be as well acquainted with them as I am myself. To spare my readers the trouble of collecting together at too great a distance the articles of a broken calculation, and that they may view the whole at one single glance, I shall here lay before them all that has been said on that subject in different parts of these Memoirs, beginning with a faithful account of my whole yearly revenue, according to the order of time when I was invested with those offices, from whence the greatest part of it arose.*

I was, in the first place, while Henry the Great was yet but king of Navarre, preferred to the post of first gentleman of his bed-chamber, together with that of counsellor of Navarre: the salaries of both amounted to two thousand livres a year. When he became king of France, he made me counsellor of state, for which I had a like allowance, which, with a pension of three thousand six hundred livres, increased my income with the yearly sum of five thousand six hundred livres. My company of men at

* The following memoir is an unanswerable refutation of a reflection cast on the duke of Sully by the Histoire de la Mere et du Fils, p. 130; and expressed in these words: "In fine, if during his administration, he had managed the king's affairs well, he had not "forgot to take care of his own. This appeared more evidently "from his having come into office with only six thousand livres a "year, and going out with more than a hundred and fifty thousand "livres, which had obliged him to withdraw out of the exchequer "the rent-roll and inventory of his estate and effects, which had "been registered there, when he came into the management of the "finances, that it might not appear against him, under his own hand "and seal, how much he had enriched himself out of the king's "money."

arms brought me in four thousand livres a year. The king giving me afterwards two brevets, one for counsellor of parliament, without salary, and the other for counsellor of the finances, three thousand six hundred livres were on this occasion added to my pensions. His majesty having thought proper to fix the gratuities, pensions, gifts, &c. which he designed to bestow upon me as superintendant of the finances, to a certain sum, which should be all comprehended in one article, this sum, which amounted to twenty thousand crowns, encreased my revenue with ten thousand eight hundred livres a year more: add to this the produce of all my other dignities and employments; the office of surveyor-general of the roads of France, and surveyor in particular of the isle of France, brought me in ten thousand livres a year; that of master-general of the ordnance, comprehending the salary, profits, and pensions, annexed to it, twenty-four thousand livres. I always placed under one article the sums arising from the government of Poitou, the superintendance of the buildings, that of the fortifications, ports, &c. which altogether amounted to eighteen thousand livres a year. The government of Mante and Gergeau brought me in twelve thousand livres; the queen's company of gensdarmes, of which I was captain-lieutenant, five thousand livres; and the government of the Bastile two thousand two hundred livres a year. All these articles put together make up the sum of ninety-seven thousand two hundred livres a year.

Each of these articles have been already mentioned in different parts of these Memoirs. What remains to be added to them are as follows: Forty-five thousand livres in church benefices, which his holiness was so well satisfied that I should enjoy under

the borrowed name of some ecclesiastics, that he generally expedited the bulls gratis, when he was told that the abbeys were for me. I lost no part of this income, when it was decreed that the ecclesiastics should withdraw all their benefices out of the hands of the Protestants, because, by the Pope's bulls, in which this regulation was expressed, the ecclesiastics on whom they were bestowed were to give the full value of them to the first possessor. My own lands and possessions compose a second article, which, I believe, I estimate justly, by making them amount to sixty thousand livres a year. These two last sums, added to that of ninety-seven thousand two hundred livres, make a total of two hundred and two thousand two hundred livres a year.

I shall anticipate the explanation which may be demanded of me, with respect to the article of twenty thousand crowns in lands; and, in the first place, I desire it may be remembered that there was a kind of agreement made between the king and myself in the year 1601, by which that prince, who did not think my labours in his service sufficiently rewarded by my ordinary gratuities and pensions, and who likewise was apprehensive as well as I that those sums, which his generosity led him to give me in extraordinary presents and gratuities, would produce bad consequences hereafter, by that appearance of profusion they might have, again settled his gifts and gratuities in a new sum of sixty thousand livres a year, which was to include all that I was to expect merely from his bounty. This donation was expedited by letters patent, that, being known to the whole kingdom, I might not be one day subjected to any dishonourable imputation on account of it. I enjoyed this extraordinary gratuity for eight years, which produced me the sum of four

hundred and twenty-four thousand livres, which I laid out, according to the king's desire, in making acquisitions in proportion. I made the same use of the sum of five hundred and thirty thousand livres arising from the following articles: From money which I have received, but which is subject to be repaid, on the marriage of my son, two hundred thousand livres; a hundred thousand livres which I received with my wife; a hundred thousand paid me by la Borde; as much by M. Schomberg; and thirty thousand which his majesty gave me for my son d'Orval.* These sums, I say, which, added to the above, make one million and ten thousand livres, I laid out in the following manner:

I purchased one half of the estate of Rosny with two hundred and ten thousand livres. The estate

* Francis de Bethune, the founder of the branch of the counts d'Orval, was knight of the king's orders, master of the horse to the queen, surveyor-general of France, superintendant of the royal buildings, governor of St. Maixant, camp-master of the regiment of Picardy, lieutenant-general of the king's armies. After the death of Cæsar de Bethune, his brother of the whole blood, who died unmarried, the estates and lordships which the duke of Sully their father had settled upon the children of his second marriage (as we shall relate hereafter) became united in him. They were erected into a dutchy and peerage, under the title of de Bethune, which was done in consideration of his signal services to the crown, and particularly in having raised, at his own expense, a considerable body of forces, both foot and horse, at a time when the king stood in great need of them, to carry on the war, in which he was then engaged, with the Spaniards, duke Charles of Lorraine, the prince of Condé, and others of his rebellious subjects. It is in these terms the letters patent for this purpose are expressed, which are dated at Melun in the month of June 1652. The dutchy of Sully devolved on this branch of the family, in 1730, on the death of Maximilian the fifth duke of Sully, in the person of Lewis Peter Maximilian de Bethune, grandson of this Francis count d'Orval, to whom it was adjudged by the council of state, he paying the value of it to the abbé Armand de Bethune, his great uncle, afterwards count d'Orval.

of Dourdan, which I bought of Sancy, who held it of the Swiss cantons, cost me, beside the money he owed me, one hundred thousand livres. I had the lands of Sully from the duke de la Tremouille for a hundred and fifty thousand livres; and Villebon, by an ordinance, for one hundred thousand. The three contracts I made with the duke of Nevers amounted to two hundred and ten thousand livres: namely, for Montrond a hundred thousand; la Chapelle fifty-six thousand; and for Henrichemont fifty-four thousand. I bought the estate of Châtelet of the duke of Montpensier for sixty thousand livres; that of Culand, by an ordinance, for eight thousand; and des Is, in Beauce, for seventy-five thousand livres. The whole of these purchases, which amount to eleven hundred and ninety thousand livres, exceeding, as appears, that of the two sums received above by a hundred and nine thousand livres, this sum will be found charged in the articles of receipt, which are placed after; for I am desirous of giving the reader full satisfaction, by carrying this detail even farther than he has a right to expect, and for this purpose I must step a little aside from the subject I am treating of, and give an account of the several sums I received after the death of Henry the Great, as an equivalent for my charges, in gratuities from the young king, &c. even to the time that I resolved to dispose of almost all the employments with which I had been invested.

The three hundred thousand livres which his majesty granted me by letters patent, were at once a gift from this prince, and a kind of recompense for the superintendance of the finances, and government of the Bastile, which I resigned into his hands. He gave me sixty thousand livres for my company of gensdarmes, for which I had refused two hundred

thousand. I agreed with Fourcy to resign to him the superintendance of the buildings for fifty thousand livres, which was the price set upon it by his majesty: I refused to take more. I was offered three hundred thousand livres for the government of Poitou, which I yielded to Rohan, who obtained the king's consent that he should purchase it for two hundred thousand. I lost in the same manner one hundred thousand livres upon the offices of surveyor-general of the roads, and hereditary master of the canals and navigation of rivers. The treasurer of France paid me only a hundred and fifty thousand for them. His majesty likewise caused me to be paid again the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand livres for the estate of Dourdan, and I agreed with the prince of Condé to give him back the lands of Villebon for a hundred and fifty thousand livres, which he has since paid me. I destined these two last sums for the portion of my youngest daughter, for whom it was more difficult to procure an establishment than her eldest sister. To these sums I add those which arose from the sale of my benefices; for I thought it was equally allowable for me to take money for them, as for the ecclesiastics, by whom they were purchased, to give it me; or for the Pope to permit it, as he did, by his bulls. I therefore took, without making any scruples, an allowance of eighty thousand livres of an abbé who was recommended to me by the prince of Condé, for my abbey of Coulon. Bethune, who, as well as his son, was the most scrupulous Roman Catholic I ever knew, purchased, under the sanction of these bulls, the abbey of Jard of me for forty thousand livres; an abbé, a friend of the duke of Rohan, bought that of l'Or at Poitiers of me for seventy thousand: and l'Argentier Vauce-

main, or rather his son, that of l'Absie, for fifty thousand livres. All theses sums together make a total of thirteen hundred thousand livres. Let us now see to what use it was applied.

I bought of M. de Lavardin the estate of Montricoux, and that of Caussade, from the sieur Palliers, both for a hundred and sixty thousand livres. My youngest daughter* having, on account of some personal disadvantages, as I observed before, occasion for a larger portion than her sister, to marry her suitable to her birth, I gave with her to M. de Mirepoix four hundred and fifty thousand livres in specie: the other expenses of this marriage, in jewels, furniture, &c. formed an article of fifty thousand livres more, which in all makes up the sum of five hundred thousand livres. I shall only slightly observe here, that such distinguishing proofs of paternal tenderness were repaid both by my daughter and her husband with the most striking instances of ingratitude. I lent to several cities, and to that of Rochelle in particular, more than two hundred and fifty thousand livres, which, by the siege and reduction of this city, and the wars raised against the Protestants, I have almost wholly lost. The money I lent, at different times, to the marquis of Rosny, and the debts I paid for him, amount at least to three hundred thousand livres; the yearly incomes which came to me from Languedoc and Guyenne, by the purchase I made of certain registries and rents there, cost me four hundred thousand livres; and the house I bought in Paris two hundred and twenty thousand livres. By calculating my accounts of the money I laid out in buildings and other works, in furniture, in journies, and other expenses

* Louisa de Bethune. She was married on the 29th of May, 1620, to Alexander de Lévis, marquis of Mirepoix.

of that kind, I find a capital of seven hundred thousand livres. The sum total of all these several articles, amounts to two millions five hundred and thirty thousand livres, which makes it superior to the total of receipt, which precedes it, by twelve hundred and thirty thousand livres.

The reader may have observed, from the beginning of these Memoirs, that my application to my domestic economy extended itself to things which it might be naturally expected would have been excepted from it; I mean in the military profits, arising either from prisoners I had taken, from ransoms, or at the sacking of towns taken by assault, and on other occasions of the same kind, which it is not necessary to give a minute account of here. When the peace of Vervins was concluded, I found that these profits, which, when considered separately, appear so slight that they scarce deserve to be mentioned, yet made a total of one hundred thousand livres, or thereabouts. The war of Savoy, which broke out afterwards, was worth as much more to me in cannon, arms, ammunition, &c. taken from the enemy, of which I had a large portion as master-general of the ordnance. Of all this I make an article of three hundred thousand livres. By calculating the value of all those presents that were made me on different occasions, I found the whole amount to a sum nearly equal to the former. It must be observed, that I mean only such presents as I received in the character of a public person, and in occurrences when it would not have been decent for me to have refused them, as in my embassies and negociations; upon the king's marriage, from the queen, and the grand-duke; on the marriage of the princess Catherine with the duke of Lorrain; on every new-year's day from their majesties and queen

Margaret. It would have been a ridiculous affectation to shew myself as scrupulously nice about these presents, and others of the same nature, as I did when they were offered to me with interested views. However, I would not receive any thing in this manner without its being expressed in a brevet, which I entreated his majesty to grant me for each of these gifts, which, though in jewels and trinkets, composed a sum of one hundred thousand crowns. I sold again the lands of Dourdan for an hundred and fifty thousand livres, before my gratuities were settled of twenty thousand crowns, as I have already mentioned, and which did not happen till the year 1601. The late king listening only to the dictates of his own generous mind, and to the friendship with which he honoured me, obliged me to accept many other donations which have not been particularized here, and which, I believe, do not amount to less than two hundred thousand livres. Lastly, since my income was become so considerable as the reader has seen, it is not surprising that by strictly observing a maxim, which from my earliest years I had laid down as absolutely necessary for the advantage of my domestic affairs; namely, that one ought never to spend the whole extent of one's income, I should at the end of a certain number of years have laid by a very considerable sum. If we suppose this sum to amount to three hundred and fifty thousand livres, and add it to the four former ones, we shall find that it will, within a very little matter, make up the twelve hundred thousand livres, which is wanting to produce a perfect equality between the receipt and expense. I think it unnecessary to repeat here what I have formerly said, with respect to the current expenses of my house.

What I am going to relate concerning my transactions with the prince of Condé, may appear as a matter of mere curiosity only; but I was not willing to omit it, as it has some connection with the subject I am on at present. When the war broke out against the Protestants under the new reign, the prince of Condé being solicitous to remove me from his governments, where I had several very fine estates, and some strong castles, proposed to me to sell them all to him. I was apprehensive that, if I refused to comply with this proposal, the war would furnish him with pretences to drive me from thence, which force would have rendered valid. I was sensible that his councils had not a little contributed to that resolution they had lately taken against us, and I was forewarned that he was meditating something worse with regard to me. I therefore agreed with him for the lands of Villebon, Montrond, Orval, Culand, and le Châtelet, and with the greater willingness, as he offered me more than they had cost me, and indeed more than they were worth. Accordingly a contract was signed by us both, in which the prince of Condé obliged himself to give me twelve hundred thousand livres for those estates: he did not pay me the money down indeed; but I readily consented to wait till it suited his own conveniency.

However, I did not expect that, at the expiration of a certain time, this prince would find out an easy method of discharging at once both the principal and interest, by demanding of the king that my estates should be confiscated, a practice which the war made then very common. His majesty was so good as to remember me on this occasion, and rejected with a kind of horror so infamous a request. When the peace was concluded, the prince found

himself obliged to come to an account with me. His inclination for the estate of Baugy encreasing, there was a necessity for yielding him that likewise, as well as all the others, in order that I might not on any side be his neighbour. He took a dislike to the lands of Villebon, which, together with those of Muret, he restored to me as an equivalent for the estate which he so eagerly coveted. The exchange was not disadvantageous to me. This method of paying me being most convenient for this prince, he made over to me, one after the other, the lands of Nogent, Montigny, Chanrond, Vitrai, the marquisate of Conty, Breteuil, Francatel, and la Falaise, invested with the same rights as the lands that I had exchanged, the principal of which, in my eyes, was the liberty of calling them, according to the king's patent, a possession which I held by the liberality and the immediate grant of the king my master.* Thus I got out of the dispute with

* Amongst the papers containing the proofs of what M. de Sully here relates of his disputes with the prince of Condé, which the present duke of Sully has done me the honour to communicate to me, I find two letters, which it may not be improper to insert here: one is from the prince of Condé to the first duke of Sully; the other from the prince of Conty to the marquis de Bethune (Maximilian Alpinus) grandfather of the duke of Sully now living.

Letter from the Prince of Condé to the Duke of Sully.

"Sir,

"I hope to have the honour of seeing you soon, the bearer hereof will inform you from whence this comes, and explain the contents of it to you. You will find, from my actions, how much I have at heart the king's service, the public good, and your friendship in particular, which I passionately covet. I beg you will assuredly rely on the truth of these professions. I am preparing, in performance of our mutual engagements, to conclude our bargain for Villebon, and will

the prince, who, it must be confessed, was guilty of a double injustice in endeavouring to get possession of my estates by procuring them to be confiscated.

I have been a witness of very miserable times since the death of the king my master. The war which I saw kindled against the Protestants filled me with grief: I was incited by a thousand different motives to take part in it; but I courageously resisted this snare: I never gave the king the least reason to look upon me as a rebel, or an abettor of rebels. I have punctually obeyed all his majesty's

let you know (begging you will meet me for that purpose) in what place I can have the honour of conversing with you,

I am, Monsieur,

Your cousin, and

most humble servant,

HENRY de BOURBON."

Letter from the Prince of Conty to the Marquis of Bethune.

"Sir,

"I am extremely pressed by the count d'Orval to consent to the agreement he is desirous of making with the viscount of Meaux, for the estate of Chanrond; and he even offers to give me security to indemnify me against the warranty my late father entered into. I would not however make him any promise, after having engaged to your mother-in-law not to do any thing in this affair without acquainting you with it; and, as it is for the benefit of all parties, that this matter should be settled, and made an end of as soon as possible, I am willing to refer my pretentions to the judgment of the count de Bethune your kinsman, and beg you will do so too, and submit to what he shall direct. The count d'Orval and the viscount of Meaux are content to submit their claims to him, and abide by his determination. I make no doubt of your consenting to this proposal, as otherwise I shall be obliged to do what is desired of me, and accept of the proposed security. I earnestly beseech you not to make any difficulty of coming into this agreement. In the mean time, I am

Your most affectionate servant,

ARMAND de BOURBON."

Toulouse, 19th of October, 1656.

commands: am always ready to present myself at court whenever he is pleased to require it: in a word, I have had the good fortune to continue as faithful in the performance of those promises I made to the king my benefactor, as in that of the duties of a good citizen.

BOOK XXX.

Discussion of the Political Scheme commonly called,

THE GREAT DESIGN OF HENRY IV.

Preliminary considerations upon the Roman empire, the establishment of the French monarchy, the different governments of the three races of our kings, &c. The possibility of the great design proved: Henry with difficulty makes Sully approve of it: in what manner Elizabeth and this prince formed it. Favourable and unfavourable events. The advantage of this scheme to all Europe. That part of the political scheme which regards religion, consisting in peaceably maintaining the religions received in Europe, and in driving the infidels from thence. The political part, which consists in establishing fifteen equal monarchies; in reducing the power of the house of Austria: and dividing what it should be deprived of among the princes and republics of Europe. Means of indemnifying himself, and of proving the equity of his proceedings. The moderation and disinterestedness of France in this division. Establishment of a general council of the Christian republics. Negociations and other means employed to induce the princes and states of Europe to engage in the great design. Account of the forces, and the expenses necessary for the execution of it. The march and disposition of the armies of the confederate princes: the probable result of it.

As this part of these Memoirs will be entirely taken up with an account of the great design of Henry IV. or the political scheme, by which he proposed to govern, not only France, but all Europe, it may not be improper to begin it with some more general reflections on this monarchy, and on the Roman empire, upon whose ruins we know it has been formed, as well as all the other powers which at this day compose the Christian world.

If we consider all those successive changes which Rome has suffered from the year of the world 3064,

which is that of its foundation,* its infancy, youth, and virility, its declension, fall, and final ruin; those vicissitudes, which it experienced in common with the great monarchies by which it was preceded would almost incline one to believe, that empires, like all other sublunary things, are subject to be the sport, and at last to sink under the pressure, of time. And if we extend this idea still farther, we shall perhaps perceive, that they are all liable to be disturbed or interrupted in their courses, by certain extraordinary incidents; which, for any thing that we can discover to the contrary, may be termed epidemical distempers, that very frequently hasten their destruction; and their cure by this discovery becoming easier, we may at least save some of them from those catastrophes which are so fatal to them.

But if we endeavour to discover more visible and natural causes of the ruin of this vast and formidable empire, we shall perhaps soon perceive they were produced by a deviation from those wise laws, and that simplicity of manners, which were the original of all its grandeur, into luxury, avarice, and ambition; yet there was, finally, another cause, the effect of which could hardly have been prevented or foreseen by the utmost human wisdom; I mean, the irruptions of those vast bodies of barbarous people, Goths, Vandals, Huns, Herulians, Rugians, Lombards, &c. from whom, both separately and united, the Roman empire received such violent shocks, that it was at last overthrown by them: Rome was three times sacked by these barbarians; in 414, under Honorius, by Alaric, chief of the Goths; in 455, by Genseric, king of the Vandals, under

* The opinion now most generally received is that of Varro, who places the time of the foundation of Rome near 200 years later.

Martian; and in 546, under Justinian, by Totila and the Goths.* Now, if it be true, that after this, the city retained the shadow of what she had been, if we must regard her as divested of the empire of the world, when her weakness and the abuses of her government made this event to be looked upon, not simply as inevitable, but as very near, and, in fact, already arrived; the epocha of her fall may then be marked long before the reign of Valentinian III. to whom it will be doing a favour, to call the last emperor of the West;† for several of those emperors whom he succeeded, were, in reality, no better than tyrants, by whom the empire was torn and divided, and the shattered remnants left to be the spoil of the barbarians, who, indeed, by their conquests, acquired an equal right to them.

Rome, nevertheless, still beheld, at intervals, some faint appearances of a revival; those of which she was most sensible were under the reign of the great Constantine, whose victories once more united this vast body under one head; but when he transported the seat of his empire from Rome to Constantinople, he, by that step, without being sensible of it, contributed more to the destruction of a work which had cost him so much labour, than all the ill conduct of his predecessors had been able to effect; and this even he rendered irremediable, by dividing

* These three epochas are not quite just; the first was in 410, instead of 414; the second in 455, or 456; and the third in 524, under Tegas, successor of Totila, and the last king of the Goths; the sacking the city this last time lasted forty days.

† It would be unjust, surely, to refuse the title of emperors of the West to Valentinian III. to Honorius, &c. The expressions here used by our author should not be understood in their most rigorous sense, but only as meaning an empire weakening, and approaching to its final destruction.

his empire equally between his three sons. Theodosius, who by good fortune, or from an effect of his great valour, found himself in the same circumstances with Constantine, would not perhaps have committed the same fault, had he not been influenced by the force of Constantine's example; but this, in a manner, necessarily obliged him to divide his empire in two; Arcadius had the East, Honorius the West: and from that time there never was any hopes or opportunity of reuniting them.

According to the order of nature, by which the destruction of one thing contributes to the production of others; so, in proportion, as the most distant members of the empire of the West fell off from it, from thence there arose kingdoms; though indeed they did not at first bear that rank. The most ancient of these (its origin appearing to have been in the eighth year of the empire of Honorius) is, undoubtedly, that which was founded in Gaul by the French, so called from Franconia, from whence they were invited by the Gauls, who inhabited the countries about the Moselle, to assist them in their deliverance from the oppression of the Roman armies. It being a custom among these Franks, or French, to confer the title of king upon whatever person they chose to be their leader; if the first or second of these chiefs did not bear it, it is certain, at least, that the third, which was Merovius, and more particularly Clovis, who was the fifth, were invested with it,* and some of them supported it

* The whole of what is here said, may be allowed to be right: according to Petau and Sirmond, the chiefs of the French bore the title of kings from the reign of Valentinian II. which was long before the year 445, when Claudian, by the taking of Cambray, &c. first established himself on this side of the Rhine. They first established themselves on the other side of the Rhine about the middle of the

with so much glory; among others, Pepin and Charles Martel, to whom it would be doing an injustice to refuse them this dignity; that their worthy successor Charlemagne, revived in Gaul an imperfect image of the now extinguished empire in the West: this indeed was facilitated by those natural advantages France enjoys of numerous inhabitants trained to war; and a great plenty of all things serving the different necessities of life, joined to a very great conveniency for commerce, arising from its situation, which renders it the centre of four of the principal powers of Europe; Germany, Italy, Spain, and Britain, with the Low Countries.

Let us here just say one word upon the three races which compose the succession of our kings: in the first of them I find only Merovius, Clovis I. and Clotharius II. Charles Martel, Pepin le Bref, and Charlemagne, in the second, who have raised themselves above the common level of their race. Take away these six from the thirty-five, which we compute in these two races, and all the rest, from their vices or their incapacity, appear to have been either wicked kings, or but the shadow of kings; though among them we may distinguish some good qualities in Sigibert and Dagobert, and a very great devotion in Louis le Débonnaire, which, however, ended in his repenting the loss of empire and his kingdom, together with his liberty, in a cloister.

third century, and extended themselves, nearly from the Texel, as far as Francfort. This revolt of a part of Gaul against the Romans, happened in 434, in the twelfth year of the reign of Valentinian III. and the author's opinion on the establishment of the French in Gaul, is confirmed by a learned academician, who has cleared up this critical point as much as it was possible (the late abbé Du Bois). Hist. Crit. de l'Etab. de la Monarchie Franç. dans les Gaules. Tom. I. liv. i. ch. 17. liv. ii. ch. 7, 8.

The Carlovingian race having reigned obscurely, and ended so too, the crown then descended upon a third race; the four first kings of which, in my opinion, appear to have been perfect models of wise and good government. The kingdom which came under their dominion had lost much of its original splendor, for from its immense extent in the time of Charlemagne, it was reduced to very nearly the same bounds which it has at this day; with this difference, that though they might have been desirous to restore its ancient limits, the form of the government, which rendered the kings subject to the great men and people of the kingdom, who had a right to choose, and even to govern their sovereigns, left them no means by which they could succeed in such an attempt. The conduct, therefore, which they pursued was, to condemn arbitrary power to an absolute silence; and, in its place, to substitute equity itself; a kind of dominion which never excites envy. Nothing now was done without the consent of the great men and the principal cities, and almost always in consequence of the decision of an assembly of the states. A conduct so moderate and prudent put an end to all factions, and stifled all conspiracies, which are fatal to the state or the sovereign. Regularity, economy, a distinction of merit, strict observance of justice, all the virtues which we suppose necessary qualifications for the good of a family, were what characterized this new government, and produced what was never before beheld, and what, perhaps, we may never see again, an uninterrupted peace for one hundred and twenty-two years: what these princes gained by it for themselves in particular, and which all the authority of the Salique law could never have procured them, was, the advantage of introducing into this house an hereditary right to

the crown. But they, nevertheless, thought it a necessary precaution, not to declare their eldest sons their successors till they had modestly asked the consent of the people, preceded it by a kind of election, and usually by having them crowned in their own lifetime, and seated with them upon the throne.

Philip II. whom Lewis VII. his father, caused to be crowned, and to reign with him in this manner, was the first who neglected to observe this ceremony between the sovereign and his people: several victories, obtained over his neighbours and over his own subjects, which gained him the surname of Augustus, served to open him a passage to absolute power; and a notion of the fitness and legality of this power, by the assistance of favourites, ministers, and others, became afterwards so strongly imprinted in his successors, that they looked upon it as a mark of the most profound good policy, to act contrary to those maxims, the general and particular utility of which had been so effectually confirmed by experience. And this they did without any fear, or perhaps without any conception of the fatal consequences which such a proceeding, against a nation that adored its liberty, might, and even necessarily would, incur; of which they might easily have become sensible, from the means to which the people had immediate recourse, to shake off the yoke of tyranny with which they saw themselves menaced. The kings could never obtain of their people any other than that kind of constrained obedience, which always inclines them to embrace with eagerness, all opportunities of mutiny. This was the source of a thousand bloody wars: that by which almost all France was ravaged by the English; that which we carried on with Italy, Burgundy, and Spain;

all of them can be attributed to no other causes, than the civil dissentions by which they were preceded: and here the weakest side, stifling the voice of honour, and the interest of the nation, constantly called in foreigners to assist them in the support of their tottering liberties. These were shameful and fatal remedies; but from that time they were constantly employed, and even to our days by the house of Lorrain, in a league, for which religion was nothing more than the pretence. Another evil, which may at first appear to be of a different kind, but which, in my opinion, proceeds from the same source, was a general corruption of manners, a thirst for riches, and a most shameful degree of luxury: these, sometimes separately, and sometimes united, were alternate causes and effects of many of our miseries.

Thus, in a few words, I have exposed the various species of our bad policy, with respect both to the form of the government, successively subjected to the will of the people, the soldiers, the nobles, the states, and the kings; and in regard to the persons likewise of these last, whether dependant, elective, hereditary, or absolute.

From the picture here laid before us, we may be enabled to form our judgment upon the third race of our kings: we may find a thousand things to admire in Philip Augustus, Saint Louis, Philip le Bel, Charles le Sage, Charles VII. and Louis XII. But it is to be lamented, that so many virtues, or great qualities, have been exercised upon no better principles; with what pleasure might we bestow upon them the titles of great kings, could we but conceal that their people were miserable: what might we not, in particular, say of Louis IX.? of the forty-four years which he reigned, the first twenty

of them exhibits a scene not unworthy to be compared with the eleven last of Henry the Great. But I am afraid all their glory will appear to have been destroyed in the twenty-four following; wherein it appears, that the excessive taxes upon the subjects, to satisfy an ill-judged and destructive devotion; immense sums transported into the most distant countries, for the ransom of prisoners; so many thousand subjects sacrificed; so many illustrious houses extinguished; caused a universal mourning throughout France, and all together, a general calamity.

Let us for once, if it be possible, fix our principles; and being, from long experience, convinced, that the happiness of mankind can never arise from war, of which we ought to have been persuaded long ago; let us, upon this principle, take a cursory view of the history of our monarchy. We will pass by the wars of Clovis and his predecessors, because they seem to have been, in some degree, necessary to confirm the recent foundations of the monarchy: but what shall we say of those wars, in which the four sons of Clovis, the four sons of Clotharius II. and their descendants, were engaged, during the uninterrupted course of one hundred and sixty years? and of those also, by which, for the space of one hundred and seventy-two other years, commencing with Lewis le Debonnaire, the kingdom was harassed and torn? What follows is still worse: the slightest knowledge of our history is sufficient to convince any one, that there was no real tranquillity in the kingdom from Henry VIII. to the peace of Vervins: and, in short, all this long period may be called a war of near four hundred years duration. After this examination, from whence it incontestably appears, that our kings have seldom thought of any

thing but how to carry on their wars, we cannot but be scrupulous in bestowing on them the title of, truly great kings; though we shall, nevertheless, render them all the justice which appears to have been their due: for I confess (as indeed it would be unjust to attribute to them only, a crime which was properly that of all Europe) that several of these princes were sometimes in such circumstances as rendered the wars just, and even necessary; and from hence, when indeed there was no other means to obtain it, they acquired a true and lasting glory. For herein, from the manner in which several of these wars were foreseen, prepared for, and conducted, we may in their councils discover such master-strokes of policy, and in their persons such noble instances of courage, as are deserving of our highest praises. From whence then can proceed the error of so many exploits, in appearance so glorious, though the effect of them has generally been the devastation both of France and all Europe? I repeat it again, of all Europe, which even yet seems scarce sensible, that in her present situation, a situation in which she has been, for several centuries, every attempt which shall tend to her subjection, or only to the too considerably augmenting of any one of her principal monarchies, at the expense of the others, can never be any other than a chimerical and impossible enterprise. There are none of these monarchies, whose destruction will not require a concurrence of causes infinitely superior to all human force. The whole, therefore, of what seems proper and necessary to be done, is to support them all in a kind of equilibrium; and whatever prince thinks, and in consequence acts otherwise, may indeed cause torrents of blood to flow through all Europe, but he will never be able to change her form.

When I observed that the extent of France is not now so considerable as it was in the time of Charlemagne, my intention, most certainly, was, not that this diminution should be considered as a misfortune. In an age when we feel the sad effects of having had ambitious princes, from time to time, for our kings, were all to concur in flattering this fatal ambition, it would be the cause of still greater evils; and it may be generally observed, that the larger the extent of kingdoms, the more they are subject to great revolutions and misfortunes. The basis of the tranquillity of our own, in particular, depends upon preserving it within its present limits. A climate, laws, manners, and language, different from our own; seas, and chains of mountains almost inaccessible, are all so many barriers, which we may consider as fixed even by nature. Besides, what is it that France wants? will she not always be the richest and most powerful kingdom in Europe? It must be granted. All therefore which the French have to wish or desire is, that heaven may grant them pious, good, and wise kings; and that these kings may employ their power in preserving the peace of Europe; for no other enterprize can, truly, be to them either profitable or successful.

And this explains to us the nature of the design which Henry IV. was on the point of putting in execution, when it pleased God to take him to himself, too soon by some years for the happiness of the world. From hence likewise we may perceive the motives for his pursuing a conduct so opposite to any thing that had hitherto been undertaken by crowned heads; and here we may behold what it was that acquired him the title of *Great*. His designs were not inspired by a mean and despicable ambition, nor guided by base and partial interests:

to render France happy for ever was his desire; and as she cannot perfectly enjoy this felicity, unless all Europe likewise partakes of it; so it was the happiness of Europe in general which he laboured to procure, and this in a manner so solid and durable, that nothing should afterwards be able to shake its foundations.

I must confess I am under some apprehensions, lest this scheme* should at first be considered as one

* The Memoirs of Sully are the only monument which has preserved to posterity an account of the great design of Henry IV. We find no traces of it in any of the historians, authors of memoirs, or other writers, who were cotemporary with that prince; their silence in this matter proceeded, no doubt, from their not knowing enough of it to say any thing with certainty about it. The world did not begin to descant upon it till the *Memoirs of Sully*, wherein it is so clearly described, were published; and among all those who have considered it ever since about the middle of the seventeenth century, I find scarce any who have questioned the possibility of executing it; doubtless, because they lived near enough to the times in which it was formed, to be convinced, even from the mouths of those who had been witnesses of the preparations and dispositions which were made, that all the measures had been taken precisely in the same manner as related by the duke of Sully; and consequently, that it would have had but few of those obstacles to encounter which have since been raised against it.

The author of a manuscript discourse in the king's library, which to me appears to be the most ancient memoir we have of that time, seems not in the least to have doubted of success in its execution. And M. de Perefixe, who in the third part of his history of Henry the Great, has given a short but very accurate account of the scheme, says positively that it would have succeeded; and farther confirms his assertion by proofs, which he gives, p. 388, and the following. The continuator of Thuanus, in what little he has said of it, anno 1609,10, does not appear to have been of a different sentiment. The marshal de Bassompierre also, in his Journal, tom. I. seems to be in its favour. To these authorities we may also join that of the author of the life of the duke d'Epernon, and some others, who all seem to be of the same opinion. Indeed, till the beginning of the present

of those darling chimeras, or idle political speculations, in which a mind susceptible of strange and singular ideas, may be so easily engaged: those who

century, all authors appear to have been unanimous in this point; and several of our modern historians have joined them herein.

Vittorio Siri (Mem. Recond. tom. I. p. 29, 514. tom. II. p. 45. &c.) is the first that I know of, by whom this great enterprize has been treated as absurd and impossible: but the ignorance which he shews in the whole affair, even in those points which are the least contested; his attachment to the Spanish politics, and his distance from the persons of Henry IV. and his minister, which is every way apparent in all he says on the subject, render him, in this respect, very justly exceptionable: his sentiments have been adopted, by the author of the History of the Mother and Son, tom. I. p. 44. and for a similar reason of attachment to the queen, mother of Lewis XIII. But this writer, such as he is, producing no better authority for his opinion, than the age of Henry IV. who was then near sixty, appears also to have been so intirely unacquainted with the affair, that we may, without scruple, pronounce, he was ignorant of the disposition which had been made for the complete execution of it within the space of three years, and that he condemns the design without understanding it.

I have much greater reverence for the authority of some modern politicians, who consider it as a kind of impossibility, thus to change the face of all Europe, in the manner proposed by Henry IV. and who imagine, that in our days a much more happy expedient has been discovered, whereby to obtain the equilibrium of Europe, than by reviving the ancient council of the Amphyctions: what I mean, is the precaution now observed, of having all the principal powers of Europe accede to, and become the guarantees of every particular treaty. But all those calamities which we have suffered in consequence of war, do but too plainly evince its insufficiency. In regard to the main stress of the question, I agree with them, that Europe could not now, but with great difficulty, be constituted in the manner proposed by Henry the Great; nevertheless I believe, without pretending to subject any one to my opinion, that those who treat this prince's design as a chimera, do not pay all the necessary attention to the circumstances of those times, wherein Europe, from her frequent dangers of being subjected to the house of Austria, and by the bloody wars which a difference of religion had excited, and con-

shall thus think of it, must be of that sort of people on whom the first impressions upon a prejudiced imagination, have the force of truth; or those, who by their distance from the times, and their ignorance of the circumstances, confound the wisest and noblest enterprises that have ever been formed, with those chimerical projects which princes, intoxicated with their power, have in all ages amused themselves in forming. I confess, that if we attentively examine the designs which have been planned from motives of vanity, confidence in good fortune, ignorance, nay, from sloth, and even timidity itself, we must be surprised to behold sovereigns plunged

tinued daily to excite, found herself in a manner compelled to have recourse to extraordinary means to put a period to her miseries.

I cannot finish this remark better, than in the words of M. l'Abbé de Saint-Pierre, in his Discours sur le Grand Homme: "From "hence we may perceive, that if Henry IV. king of France, had "executed his celebrated and well-projected design, whereby to "render peace perpetual and universal among the sovereigns "of Europe, he would have procured the greatest possible benefit, "not only to his own subjects, but to all the Christian king-"doms; and even, by a necessary consequence, to the world in "general: a benefit of which all generations, present and to come, "would have participated down to the latest time; a benefit, by "which we should have been exempted from those terrible and nu-"merous evils, which are the effects of foreign and domestic wars; "a benefit, which would have been the source of all those sweets "which naturally flow from an uninterrupted and universal tran-"quillity: if, I say, he had been so happy as to have executed this "great design, it would have rendered him, beyond all comparison, "the greatest man the world ever has, or probably ever will pro-"duce." After some farther reflections upon the means still more practicable, this judicious author adds: "This prince, however, "has always had the honour of being considered as the author of "the most important invention, and most useful discovery, for the "benefit of mankind, that has yet appeared in the world; the exe-"cution of which may, perhaps, be reserved by providence, for the "greatest and most capable of his successors."

blindly into schemes, specious perhaps in appearance, but which, at bottom, have not the least degree of possibility. The mind of man pursues with so much complacency, nay, even with so much ardour, whatever it fancies great or beautiful, that it is sorry to be made sensible, that these objects have frequently nothing real or solid in them. But in this, as well as in other things, there is an opposite extreme to be avoided; which is, that as we usually fail in the execution of great designs, from not commencing and continuing them with sufficient vigour and spirit; so likewise we are defective in the knowledge of their true worth and tendency, because we do not thoroughly and properly consider them in all their dependencies and consequences. I have myself been more difficult to persuade in this matter, than perhaps any of those who shall read these Memoirs; and this I consider as an effect of that cold, cautious, and unenterprizing temper, which makes so considerable a part of my character.

I remember the first time the king spoke to me of a political system, by which all Europe might be regulated and governed as one great family, I scarce paid any attention to what he said, imagining that he meant no more by it than merely to divert himself, or perhaps to shew, that his thoughts on political subjects were greater, and penetrated deeper, than most others: my reply was a mixture of pleasantry and compliment. Henry said no more at that time. He often confessed to me afterwards, that he had long concealed from me what he meditated on this subject, from a principle of shame, which many labour under, lest they should disclose designs which might appear ridiculous or impossible. I was astonished when, some time after, he renewed our conversation on this head, and continued from year to

year, to entertain me with new regulations and new improvements in his scheme.

I had been very far from thinking seriously about it. If by accident it came into my thoughts for a moment, the first view of the design, which supposed a reunion of all the different states of Europe; immense expenses, at a time when France could scarcely supply her own necessities; a concatenation of events which to me appeared infinite: these were considerations which had always made me reject the thought as vain; I even apprehended there was some illusion in it: I recollected some of those enterprises in which we had endeavoured to engage Europe. I considered those in particular which had been formed by some of our kings, from much less considerable motives, and I felt myself disgusted with this, from the bad success of all the former. The disposition of the princes of Europe to take umbrage against France, when she would have assisted them to dissipate their fears from the too great power of Spain, this alone appeared to me an insurmountable obstacle.

Strongly prejudiced by this opinion, I used my utmost efforts to undeceive Henry, who, on his side, surprised not to find me of his opinion in any one point, immediately undertook and readily succeeded in convincing me, that my thus indiscriminately condemning all parts of his project, in which he was certain that every thing at least was not blameable, could proceed from nothing but strong prejudices. I could not refuse, at his solicitations, to use my endeavours to gain a thorough comprehension of it: I formed a clearer plan of it in my mind: I collected and united all its different branches: I studied all its proportions and dimensions, if I may say so; and I discovered in them a

regularity and mutual dependance, of which, when I only considered the design in a confused and careless manner, I had not been at all sensible. The benefit which would manifestly arise from it to all Europe, was what most immediately struck me, as being in effect the plainest and most evident; but the means to effect so good a design were, therefore, what I hesitated at the longest. The general situation of the affairs of Europe, and of our own in particular, appeared to me every way contrary to the execution: I did not consider that, as the execution of it might be deferred till a proper opportunity, we had all those resources whereby to prepare ourselves, which time affords those who know how to make the best use of it. I was at last convinced, that however disproportionate the means might appear to the effect, a course of years, during which every thing should as much as possible be made subservient to the great object in view, would surmount many difficulties. It is indeed somewhat extraordinary, that this point, which appeared to be, and really was, the most difficult of any, should at last become the most easy.

Having thus seen all parts of the design in their just points of view, having thoroughly considered and calculated, and from thence discovered and prepared for all events which might happen, I found myself confirmed in the opinion, that the design of Henry the Great was, upon the whole, just in its intention, possible, and even practicable in all its parts, and infinitely glorious in all its effects: so that, upon all occasions, I was the first to recall the king to his engagements, and sometimes to convince him by those very arguments which he himself had taught me.

The constant attention this prince paid to all

affairs transacted around him, from an effect of those singularly unhappy circumstances, by which, in almost every instant of his life, he found himself embarrassed, had been the cause of his forming this design, even from the time when, being called to the crown by the death of Henry III. he considered the humbling of the house of Austria as what was absolutely necessary for his security; yet, if he was not beholden to Elizabeth * for his thought of the design, it is, however, certain that this great queen had herself conceived it long before, as a means to revenge Europe for the attempts of its common enemy. The troubles in which all the following years were engaged, the war which succeeded in 1595, and that against Savoy after the peace of Vervins, forced Henry into difficulties which obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of other affairs; and it was not till after his marriage, and the firm re-establishment of peace, that he renewed his thoughts upon his first design, to execute

* The present duke of Sully is possessed of the original of an excellent letter of Henry the Great, supposed to have been wrote by him to queen Elizabeth, though this princess is not named, neither in the body of the letter, nor in the superscription, which is in these words: *To her who merits immortal praise.* The terms in which Henry herein speaks of a certain political project, which he calls *The most excellent and rare enterprize that ever the human mind conceived—a thought rather divine than human:* the praises which he bestows upon *this discourse so well connected and demonstrative of what would be necessary for the government of empires and kingdoms*—on those *conceptions and resolutions* from which nothing less may be hoped than *most remarkable issues both of honour and glory.* All these passages can relate to none but Elizabeth, nor mean any other than the great design in question, concerning which it evidently appears, from hence that the queen of England had by letters disclosed her thoughts to Henry. The letter from which these extracts are taken, is dated from Paris, the 11th of July; but without the date of the year. Lettres d'Henry le Grand.

which, appeared then more impossible, or at least more improbable, than ever.

He, nevertheless, communicated it by letters to Elizabeth,* and this was what inspired them with so strong an inclination to confer together in 1601, when this princess came to Dover, and Henry to Calais. What the ceremony of an interview would not have permitted them to do, I at last begun by the voyage which I made to this princess. I found her deeply engaged in the means by which this great design might be successfully executed; and, notwithstanding the difficulties which she apprehended in its two principal points, namely, the agreement of religions, and the equality of the powers, she did not appear to me at all to doubt of its success, which she chiefly expected, for a reason the justness of which I have since been well convinced of; and this was, that, as the plan was really only contrary to the design of some princes, whose ambitious views were sufficiently known to Europe, this difficulty, from which the necessity of the design more evidently appeared, would rather promote than retard its success. She farther said, that its execution by any other means than that of arms, would be very desirable, as this had always something odious in it: but she confessed that indeed it would be hardly possible to begin it any otherwise. A very great number of the articles, conditions, and different dispositions, is due to this queen; and sufficiently shew, that, in respect of wisdom, penetration, and all the other perfections of the mind, she was not inferior to any king, the most truly deserving of that title.

It must indeed be considered as a very great

* Compare the above with what is said in vol. II. p. 432.

misfortune, that Henry could not at this time second the intentions of the queen of England, who wished to have the design put in immediate execution; but when he thus laid the foundation of the edifice, he scarce hoped to see the time when the finishing hand would be put to it. The recovery of his own kingdom from the various maladies by which it was afflicted, was a work of several years; and unhappily he had himself seen forty-eight when he began it; he pursued it, nevertheless, with the greatest vigour. The edict of Nantes had been published with this view, and every other means was used which might gain the respect and confidence of the princes of Europe. Henry and I, at the same time, applied ourselves with indefatigable labour to regulate the interior affairs of the kingdom. We considered the death of the king of Spain as the most favourable event that could happen for our design; but it received so violent a shock by the death of Elizabeth, as had like to have made us abandon all our hopes. Henry had no expectation that the powers of the north, nor king James, the successor of Elizabeth, (when he was acquainted with his character,) would any of them so readily consent to support him in his design, as this princess had done. However, the new allies which he daily gained in Germany, and even in Italy, consoled him a little for the loss of Elizabeth. The truce between Spain and the Low Countries may also be numbered among incidents favourable to it.

Yet, if we consider all the obstacles which afterwards arose in his own kingdom, from the Protestants, the Catholics, the clergy, nay even from his own council, it will appear as if all things conspired against it. Will it be believed that Henry could not find in his whole council one person,

besides myself, to whom he could, without danger, disclose the whole of his designs? and that the respect due to him, could scarce restrain those who appeared most devoted to his service, from treating as wild and extravagant chimeras what he had entrusted to them with the greatest circumspection. But nothing discouraged him: he was an abler politician and a better judge than all his council, and all his kingdom; and when he perceived that, notwithstanding all these obstacles, affairs began, both at home and abroad, to appear in a favourable situation, he then considered the success as infallible.

Nor will this his judgment, when thoroughly considered, be found so presumptuous as, from a slight examination, it may appear to some. For what did he hereby require of Europe? Nothing more than that it should promote the means by which he proposed to fix it in the position, towards which, by his efforts, it had for some time tended. These means he rendered so easy of execution that it would scarce require what many of the princes of Europe would voluntarily sacrifice, for advantages much less real, less certain, and less durable. What they would gain by it, besides the inestimable benefits arising from peace, would greatly exceed all the expenses they would be at. What reason then could any of them have to oppose it? and if they did not oppose it, how could the house of Austria support itself against powers, in whom the desire and pleasure of depriving it of that strength which it had used only to oppress them, would have raised against it as many open as it had secret enemies? that is, the whole of Europe? Nor would these princes have any reason to be jealous of the restorer of their liberty; for he was so far from seeking to re-imburse himself for all the expenses which his generosity

would hereby engage him in, that his intention was to relinquish voluntarily and for ever all power of augmenting his dominions; not only by conquest, but by every other just and lawful means. By this he would have discovered the secret of convincing all his neighbours that his whole design was to save both himself and them those immense sums which the maintenance of so many thousand soldiers, so many fortified places, and so many military expenses require; to free them for ever from the fear of those bloody catastrophes so common in Europe; to procure them an uninterrupted repose; and, finally, to unite them all in an indissoluble bond of security and friendship, after which they might live together like brethren, and reciprocally visit like good neighbours, without the trouble of ceremony, and without the expense of a train of attendants, which princes use at best only for ostentation, and frequently to conceal their misery. Does it not indeed reflect shame and reproach on a people who affect to be so polished and refined in their manners, that all their pretended wisdom has not yet (I will not say procured them tranquillity, but only) guarded them from those barbarities which they detest in nations the most savage and uncultivated? and to destroy these pernicious seeds of confusion and disorder, and to prevent the barbarities of which they are the cause, could any scheme have been more happily and perfectly contrived than that of Henry the Great?

Here then is all that could be reasonably expected or required. It is only in the power of man to prepare and act; success is the work of a more mighty hand. Sensible people cannot be blamed for being prejudiced in favour of the scheme in question, from this circumstance only, that it was formed by

the two potentates whom posterity will always consider as the most perfect models of the art of governing. In regard to Henry in particular, I insist that it belongs only to princes, who, like him, have had a constant succession of obstacles to encounter in all their designs. These, I say, are the princes who alone are privileged to judge what are real obstacles; and, when we behold them willing to lay down their lives in support of their opinions, surely we may abide by their sentiments, without fear of being deceived. For my own part, I shall always think with regret, that France, by the blow which it received by the loss of this great prince, was deprived of a glory far superior to that which his reign had acquired.* There remains only to explain the several parts of the design, and the manner in which they were to be executed. We will begin with what relates to religion.

Two religions principally prevail in Christendom, the Roman and the Reformed; but, as this latter has admitted of several modifications in its worship, which render it, if not as different from itself as from the Roman, at least as far from being reunited, it is therefore necessary to divide it into two, one of which may be called the Reformed, and the other the Protestant religion. The manner in which these three religions prevail in Europe is extremely different. Italy and Spain remain in possession of the Roman religion, pure and without mixture of any other. The Reformed religion subsists in France

* From hence we may discover what credit should be given to Siri, when he says, that the sole passion of Henry the Great was to amass riches; that his minister forced him into the design against his inclination; and that the duke of Sully, whom he believes to be the sole author of it, was himself prepossessed in its favour only from mere obstinacy, or perhaps from motives of self-interest.

with the Roman, only under favour of the edicts, and is the weakest. England, Denmark, Sweden, the Low-Countries, and Switzerland, have also a mixture of the same kind, but with this difference, that in them the Protestant is the governing religion, the others are only tolerated. Germany unites all these, and even in several of its circles, as well as in Poland, shews them equal favour. I say nothing of Muscovy or Russia: these vast countries, which are not less than six hundred leagues in length, and four hundred in breadth, being in great part still idolaters, and in part schismatics, such as Greeks and Armenians, who have introduced so many superstitious practices in their worship, that there scarce remains any conformity with us among them; besides, that they belong to Asia at least as much as to Europe, we may indeed almost consider them as a barbarous country, and place them in the same class with Turkey, though, for these five hundred years, we have ranked them among the Christian powers.

Each of these three religions being now established in Europe, in such a manner that there is not the least appearance that any of them can be destroyed, and experience having sufficiently demonstrated the inutility and danger of such an enterprize, the best therefore that can be done, is to preserve, and even strengthen all of them in such a manner, nevertheless, that this indulgence may not become an encouragement to the production of new sects or opinions, which should carefully be suppressed on their first appearance. God himself, by manifestly supporting what the Catholics were pleased to call the new religion, has taught us this conduct, which is not less conformable to the Holy Scriptures than

confirmed by its examples; and, besides, the insurmountable difficulty of forcing the Pope's authority to be received in those places where it is now no longer acknowledged, renders what is here proposed absolutely necessary. Several cardinals equally sagacious and zealous, and even some popes, as Clement VIII. and Paul V. were of this opinion.

All, therefore, that remains now to be done, is to strengthen the nations, who have made choice of one of these religions, in the principles they profess, as there is nothing in all respects so pernicious as a liberty in belief; and those nations, whose inhabitants profess several, or all these religions, should be careful to observe those rules which they find necessary to remedy the ordinary inconveniences of a toleration, which, in other respects, they probably experience to be beneficial. Italy, therefore, professing the Roman religion, and being moreover the residence of the Popes, should preserve this religion in all its purity, and there would be no hardship in obliging all its inhabitants, either to conform to it, or to quit the country. The same regulation, very nearly, might be observed in regard to Spain. In such states as that of France, where there is at least a governing religion, whoever should think the regulation too severe, by which Calvinism would be always subordinate to the religion of the prince, might be permitted to depart the country. No new regulation would be necessary in any of the other nations; no violence on this account, but liberty unrestrained, seeing this liberty is become even a fundamental principle in their governments.

Thus we may perceive that every thing on this head might be reduced to a very few maxims, so much the more certain and invariable, as they were

not contrary to the sentiments of any one. The Protestants are very far from pretending to force their religion upon any of their neighbours, by whom it is not voluntarily embraced. The Catholics, doubtless, are of the same sentiments, and the Pope would receive no injury in being deprived of what he confesses himself not to have possessed for a long time. His sacrificing these chimerical rights would be abundantly compensated by the regal dignity with which it would be proper to invest him, and by the honour of being afterwards the common mediator between all the Christian princes, a dignity which he would then enjoy without jealousy, and for which it must be confessed this court, by its sagacious conduct, has shewn itself the most proper of any.

Another point of the political scheme, which also concerns religion, relates to the infidel princes of Europe, and consists in forcing those entirely out of it who refuse to conform to any of the Christian doctrines of religion. Should the grand duke of Muscovy, or czar of Russia, who is believed to be the ancient khan of Scythia, refuse to enter into the association after it is proposed to him, he ought to be treated like the sultan of Turkey, deprived of his possessions in Europe, and confined to Asia only, where he might, as long as he pleased, without any interruption from us, continue the wars in which he is almost constantly engaged against the Turks and Persians.

To succeed in the execution of this, which will not appear difficult, if we suppose that all Christian princes unanimously concurred in it, it would only be necessary for each of them to contribute, in proportion to their several abilities, towards the support of the forces, and all the other incidental expenses, which the success of such an enterprise might re-

quire. These respective quotas were to have been determined by a general council, of which we shall speak hereafter. The following is what Henry the Great had himself conceived on this head. The Pope, for this expedition, should furnish eight thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, ten cannons, and ten gallies; the emperor and the circles of Germany, sixty thousand foot, twenty thousand horse, five large cannons, and ten gallies or other vessels; the king of France twenty thousand foot, four thousand horse, twenty cannons, and ten ships or gallies; Spain, Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, the like number with France, observing only, that these powers should together supply what belonged to the sea service in the manner most suitable to their respective conveniences and abilities therein; the king of Bohemia five thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and five cannons; the king of Hungary twelve thousand foot, five thousand horse, twenty cannons, and six ships; the duke of Savoy, or king of Lombardy, eight thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, eight cannons, and six gallies; the republic of Venice ten thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, ten cannons, and twenty-five gallies; the republic of the Swiss cantons fifteen thousand foot, five thousand horse, and twelve cannons; the republic of Holland twelve thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, twelve cannons, and twelve ships; the Italian republics ten thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, ten cannons, and eight gallies; the whole together amounting to about two hundred and seventy thousand foot, fifty thousand horse, two hundred cannons, and one hundred and twenty ships or gallies, equipped and maintained at the expense of all those powers, each contributing according to his particular proportion.

This armament of the princes and states of Europe appears so inconsiderable and so little burdensome, when compared with the forces which they usually keep on foot to awe their neighbours, or perhaps their own subjects, that were it to have subsisted, even perpetually, it would not have occasioned any inconvenience, and would have been an excellent military academy: but, besides that the enterprises for which it was destined, would not always have continued; the number and expense of it might have been diminished in proportion to the necessities, which would always have been the same. Though I am persuaded such an armament would have been so highly approved of by all these princes, that, after they had conquered with it whatever they would not suffer any stranger should share with them in Europe, they would have sought to join to it such parts of Asia as were most commodiously situated, and particularly the whole coast of Africa, which is too near to our own territories for us not to be frequently incommoded by it. The only precaution to be observed in regard to these additional countries, would have been to form them into new kingdoms, declare them united with the rest of the Christian powers, and bestow them on different princes; carefully observing to exclude those who before bore rank among the sovereigns of Europe.

That part of the design which may be considered as purely political, turned almost entirely on a first preliminary, which, I think, would not have met with more difficulty than the preceding article. This was to divest the house of Austria of the empire, and of all the possessions in Germany, Italy, and the Low-Countries: in a word, to reduce it to the sole kingdom of Spain, bounded by the ocean, the

Mediterranean, and the Pyreneean mountains. But that it might, nevertheless, be equally powerful with the other sovereignties of Europe, it should have Sardinia, Majorca, Minorca, and the other islands on its own coasts; the Canaries, the Azores, and Cape-Verd, with its possessions in Africa; Mexico, and the American islands which belong to it, countries which alone might suffice to found great kingdoms; finally, the Phillippines, Goa, the Moluccas, and its other possessions in Asia.

From hence a method seems to present itself, by which the house of Austria might be indemnified for what it would be deprived of in Europe, which is to increase its dominions in the three other parts of the world, by assisting it to obtain, and by declaring it the sole proprietor, both of what we do know, and what we may hereafter discover in those parts. We may suppose, that on this occasion it would not have been necessary to use force to bring this house to concur in such a design; and, indeed, even on this supposition, it was not the prince of this house reigning in Spain, to whom these parts of the world were to be subjected, but to different princes of the same, or of different branches, who, in acknowledgment of their possessions, should only have rendered homage to the crown of Spain, or, at most, a tribute, as due to the original conquerors. This house, which is so very desirous of being the most powerful in the world, might hereby have continued to flatter itself with so pleasing a pre-eminence, without the other powers being endangered by its pretended grandeur.

The steps taken by the house of Austria to arrive at universal monarchy, which evidently appears from the whole conduct of Charles V. and his son, have rendered this severity as just as it is necessary; and

I will venture to say, that this house would not have had any reasonable cause to complain of it. It is true, it would be deprived of the empire; but when impartially considered, it will appear that all the other princes of Germany, and even of Europe, have an equal right to it. Were it necessary to prove this, we need only recollect on what conditions Charles V. himself, the most powerful of them all, was acknowledged emperor; conditions which, at Smalcalde, he solemnly swore to observe, in presence of seven princes or electors, and the deputies of twenty-four Protestant towns; the landgrave of Hesse and the prince of Anhalt being speakers for all of them. He swore, I say, never to act contrary to the established laws of the empire, particularly the famous golden bull, obtained under Charles IV. unless it were to amplify them, and even that only with the express consent and advice of the sovereign princes of Germany: not to infringe nor deprive them of any of their privileges; not to introduce foreigners into their council; not to make either war or peace without their consent; not to bestow honours and employments but on natives of Germany; not to use any other but the German language in all writings; not to levy any taxes by his own authority, nor apply any conquests which might be made, to his own particular profit. He, in particular, formally renounced all pretensions to hereditary right in his house to the imperial dignity; and, according to the second article of the golden bull, he swore never in his lifetime to recognize a king of the Romans. When the Protestants of Germany, after they had in a manner driven Ferdinand out of it, consented that the imperial crown should be placed on his head, they were careful to make him renew his engagements in regard to all these articles,

and to all these new regulations relative to the free exercise of their religion.

As to the possessions of the house of Austria in Germany, Italy, and the Low Countries, of which it was to be deprived, not to mention here how much it is indebted for them to a tyrannical usurpation, it would, after all, be only depriving it of territories which it keeps at so prodigious an expense (I speak, in particular, of Italy and the Low Countries) as all its treasures of the Indies have not been able to defray: and besides, by investing it with the exclusive privilege above-mentioned, of gaining new establishments, and appropriating to its own use the mines and treasures of the three other parts of the world, it would be abundantly indemnified; for these new acquisitions would be at least as considerable, and undoubtedly far more rich, than those. But what is here proposed must not be understood as if the other nations of Europe were excluded from all commerce to those countries; on the contrary, it should be free and open to every one, and the house of Austria, instead of considering this stipulation, which is of the greatest consequence, as an infringement of its privileges, would rather have reason to regard it as a farther advantage.

From a farther examination and consideration of these dispositions, I do not doubt but the house of Austria would have accepted the proposed conditions without being forced to it: but, supposing the contrary, what would a resistance have signified? The promise made to all the princes of Europe, of enriching themselves by the territories of which this house was to be divested, would deprive it of all hopes of assistance from any of them.

Upon the whole then it appears, that all parties would have been gainers by it, and this was what

assured Henry the Great of the success of his design: the empire would again become a dignity to which all princes, but particularly those of Germany, might aspire: and this dignity would be so much the more desirable, though, according to its original institution, no revenues would be annexed to it, as the emperor would be declared the first and chief magistrate of the whole Christian republic; and as we may suppose this honour would afterwards be conferred only on the most worthy, all his privileges in this respect, instead of being diminished, would be enlarged, his authority over the Belgic and Helvetic republics would be more considerable, and upon every new election they would be obliged to render him a respectful homage. The electors would still continue to enjoy the right of electing the emperor, as well as of nominating the king of the Romans; with this restriction only, That the election should not be made twice successively, out of the same family. The first to have been elected in this manner, was the elector of Bavaria, who was also, in consequence of the partition, to have had those territories possessed by the house of Austria which joined to his own on the side of Italy.

The rest of these territories were to have been divided and equally distributed by the kings of France, England, Denmark, and Sweden, among the Venetians, the Grisons, the duke of Wirtemberg, and the marquis of Baden, Anspach, and Dourlach. Bohemia was to have been constituted an elective kingdom, by annexing it to Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia. Hungary was also to have been an elective kingdom, and the Pope, the emperor, the kings of France, England, Denmark, Sweden, and Lombardy, were to have had the right of nomination to it: and because this kingdom may be considered as

the barrier of Christendom against the infidels, it was to have been rendered the most powerful and able to resist them; and this was to have been done by immediately adding to it the archdutchy of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola; and by afterwards incorporating with it whatever might be acacquired in Transilvania, Bosnia, Sclavonia, and Croatia. The same electors were to have obliged themselves, by oath, to assist it upon all occasions; and they were to have been particularly careful never to grant their suffrages from partiality, artifice, or intrigue; but always to confer the dignity on a prince, who, by his great qualifications, particularly for war, should be generally acknowledged as most proper. Poland being, from its nearness to Turkey, Muscovy, and Tartary, in the same situation with Hungary, was also to have been an elective kingdom, by the same eight potentates; and its power was to have been augmented, by annexing to it whatever should be conquered from the infidels adjoining to its own frontiers, and by determining in its favour those disputes which it had with all its other neighbours. Switzerland, when augmented by Franche-comté, Alsace, the Tirol, and other territories, was to have been united into a sovereign republic, governed by a council or senate, of which the emperor, the princes of Germany, and the Venetians, were to have been umpires.

The changes to be made in Italy were, that the Pope should be declared a secular prince, and bear rank among the monarchs of Europe, and under this title should possess Naples, Apulia, Calabria, and all their dependencies, which should be indissolubly united to St. Peter's patrimony; but in case the holy father had opposed this, which indeed could scarce have been supposed, the disposition must then

have been changed, and the kingdom of Naples would have been divided and disposed of as the electoral kings should have determined. Sicily was to have been ceded to the republic of Venice, by letters from the same eight principal potentates, upon condition that it should render homage for it to every Pope, who should bear the title of Immediate Chief of the whole Italian republic; otherwise, for this reason, called The Republic of the Church. The other members of this republic were to have been Genoa, Florence, Mantua, Modena, Parma, and Lucca, without any alterations in their government: Bologna and Ferrara were to have been made free cities; and all these governments were every twenty years to have rendered homage to the Pope their chief, by the gift of a crucifix of the value of ten thousand crowns.

Of the three great republics of Europe, it appears, upon the first glance, that this would have been the most brilliant and the richest. Nevertheless, it would not have been so; for what belonged to the duke of Savoy was not comprized herein. His territories were to have been constituted one of the great monarchies of Europe, hereditary to males and females, and to have borne the title of the kingdom of Lombardy; wherein, beside the territory so called, the Milanese and Montferrat would also have been comprised; and the duke of Mantua, in exchange for these, was to have the dutchy of Cremona. An authentic testimony of the institution would have been given by the Pope, the emperor, and the other sovereigns of the Christian republic.

Among all these different dismemberings, we may observe that France received nothing for itself, but the glory of distributing them with equity. Henry had declared this to be his intention long before.

He even sometimes said, with equal moderation and good sense, that were these dispositions once firmly established, he would have voluntarily consented to have the extent of France determined by a majority of suffrages.* Nevertheless, as the districts of Artois, Hainault, Cambray, Cambresis, Tournay, Namur, and Luxembourg, might more suitably be annexed to France than to any other nation, they were to have been ceded to Henry; but to have been divided into ten distinct governments, and bestowed on so many French princes or lords, all of them bearing rank as sovereigns.

In regard to England it was precisely the same: this was a determined point between Elizabeth and Henry, the two princes who were authors of the scheme, probably from an observation made by this queen, that the Britannic isles, in all the different states through which they had passed, whether under one or several monarchs, elective, or hereditary, as well in the male as female line, and in all the variations of their laws and policy, had never experienced any great disappointments or misfortunes, but when their sovereigns had meddled in affairs out of their little continent. It seems, indeed, as if they were concentred in it even by nature, and their happiness appears to depend entirely on themselves, without having any concerns with their neighbours, provided that they seek only to maintain peace in the three nations subject to them, by governing each according to its own laws and customs. To render

* What then does Siri mean, when he entertains us with the design which he falsely affirms Henry the Great had to join Lorrain to France? (Tom. I. p. 555,) and to get Savoy ceded to him? (Tom. II. p. 61.) What he says of the dispositions, in regard to the Pope and the Venetians, &c. (Tom. II. p. 180.) is equally false. This writer seems indeed to have been in the pay of the house of Austria.

every thing equal between France and England, Brabant from the dutchy of Limbourg, the jurisdiction of Malines, and the other dependencies on Flemish Flanders, Gallican or imperial, were to have been formed into eight sovereign fiefs, to be given to so many princes or lords of this nation.

These two parts excepted, all the rest of the seventeen United Provinces, whether belonging to Spain or not, were to have been erected into a free and independent state, under the title of the Belgic republic; though there was one other fief to be formed from them, bearing the title of a principality, to be granted to the prince of Orange; also some other inconsiderable indemnities for three or four other persons. The succession of Cleves was to have been divided among those princes whom the emperor would have deprived of it, as the means of gratifying them at the expense of the house of Austria, as well as some other princes of the same district, to whom the imperial towns situated therein, would have been granted. Even Sweden and Denmark, though they were to be considered as under the influence of the same law which England and France had imposed on themselves, would, by this distribution, have enlarged their territories, and acquired other considerable advantages. An end would have been put to the perpetual troubles which agitated these two kingdoms; and this, I think, would have been rendering them no inconsiderable service. All these cessions, exchanges, and transpositions towards the north of Germany, were to have been determined by the kings of France, England, and Lombardy, and the republic of Venice.

And now, perhaps, the purport of the design may be perceived, which was to divide Europe equally

among a certain number of powers, in such a manner that none of them might have cause either of envy or fear, from the possessions or power of the others. The number of them was reduced to fifteen; and they were of three kinds: six great hereditary monarchies, five elective monarchies, and four sovereign republics. The six hereditary monarchies were France, Spain, England or Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and Lombardy; the five elective monarchies were the Empire, the Papacy or Pontificate, Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia; the four republics were the Venetian, the Italian, or what, from its dukes, may be called the Ducal, the Swiss, Helvetic, or Confederate, and the Belgic, or Provincial republic.

The laws and ordinances proper to cement an union between all these princes, and to maintain that harmony which should be once established among them, the reciprocal oaths and engagements in regard both to religion and policy, the mutual assurances in respect to the freedom of commerce, and the measures to be taken to make all these partitions with equity and to the general content and satisfaction of the parties: all these matters are to be understood; nor is it necessary to say any thing of the precaution taken by Henry in regard to them. The most that could have happened would have been some trifling difficulties, which would easily have been obviated in the general council, representing all the states of Europe; the establishment of which was certainly the happiest invention that could have been conceived, to prevent those innovations which time often introduces in the wisest and most useful institutions.

The model of this general council of Europe had been formed on that of the ancient Amphyctions

of Greece, with such alterations only as rendered it suitable to our customs, climate, and policy. It consisted of a certain number of commissioners, ministers, or plenipotentiaries from all the governments of the Christian republic, who were to be constantly assembled as a senate, to deliberate on any affairs which might occur; to discuss the different interests, pacify the quarrels, clear up and determine all the civil, political, and religious affairs of Europe, whether within itself or with its neighbours. The form and manner of proceeding in the senate would have been more particularly determined by the suffrages of the senate itself. Henry was of opinion that it should be composed of four commissioners from each of the following potentates: the Emperor, the Pope, the kings of France, Spain, England, Denmark, Sweden, Lombardy, Poland, and the republic of Venice; and of two only from the other republics and inferior powers, which altogether would have composed a senate of about sixty-six persons, who should have been rechosen every three years.

In regard to the place of meeting, it remained to be determined, whether it would be better for the council to be fixed or ambulatory, divided into three, or united in one. If it were divided into three, each containing twenty-two magistrates, then each of them must have been fixed in such a centre as should appear to be most commodious, as Paris or Bourges for one, and somewhere about Trente and Cracovia for the two others. If it were judged more expedient not to divide their assembly, whether fixed or ambulatory, it must have been nearly in the centre of Europe, and would consequently have been fixed in some one of the fourteen cities following: Metz, Luxembourg, Nancy,

Cologne, Mayence, Treves, Franckfort, Wirtzbourg, Heidelberg, Spire, Worms, Strasbourg, Basle, or Besançon.

Besides this general council, it would perhaps have been proper to have constituted some others, of an inferior degree, for the particular convenience of different districts. For example, were six such created they might have been placed at Dantzick, Nuremberg, Vienna, Bologna, Constance; and the last, wherever it should be judged most convenient for the kingdoms of France, Spain, England and the Belgic republic. But whatever the number or form of these particular councils might have been, it would have been absolutely necessary, that they should be subordinate, and recur, by appeal, to the great general council, whose decisions, when considered as proceeding from the united authority of all the sovereigns pronounced in a manner equally free and absolute, must have been regarded as so many final and irrevocable decrees.

But let us quit these speculative designs, in which practice and experience would perhaps have caused many alterations: and let us come to the means actually employed by Henry to facilitate the execution of his great design.

To gain one of the most powerful princes of Europe, with whom to concert all his designs, was what Henry always considered as of the utmost consequence: and this was the reason, that after the death of Elizabeth, who had indissolubly united the interests of the two crowns of France and England, every means was used which might inspire her successor, king James, with all her sentiments. Had I but succeeded in the solemn embassy, the particulars of which I have related already, so far as to have gained this prince's consent to have his name appear

openly with Henry's, this military confederacy, especially if it had, in like manner, been strengthened with the names of the kings of Denmark and Sweden, would have prevented the troubles and difficulties of many negociations: but nothing farther could be obtained of the king of England than the same promises which were required of the other courts; namely, that he would not only not oppose the confederacy, but, when Henry had made his designs public, would declare himself in his favour, and contribute towards it in the same manner as the other powers interested therein. A means was, indeed, afterwards found to obtain the execution of this promise, in a manner so much the more easy, as it did not disturb the natural indolence of this prince; and this was, by getting what he hesitated to undertake in his own name, executed by his son, the prince of Wales, who, as soon as he had obtained his father's promise, that he would at least not obstruct his proceedings, anticipated Henry's utmost wishes; being animated with a thirst of glory, and desire to render himself worthy the esteem and alliance of Henry; for he was to marry the eldest of the daughters of France. He wrote me several letters upon this subject, and expressed himself in the manner I have mentioned. He also farther said, that the king of France might depend upon having six thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, which he would oblige himself to bring into his service whenever they should be required: and this number was afterwards augmented by two thousand more foot, and eight cannons, maintained in all respects at the expense of England for three years at least. The king of Sweden did not shew himself less zealous for the common cause; and the king of

Denmark also appeared to be equally well disposed in its favour.

In the mean time we were indefatigable in our negociations in the different courts of Europe, particularly in the circles of Germany and the United Provinces, where the king, for this purpose, had sent Boissise, Fresne-Canaye, Baugy, Ancel, and Bongars. The council of the States were very soon unanimous in their determinations: the prince of Orange sent the sieurs Malderet and Brederode from them to offer the king fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse. They were soon followed by the landgrave of Hesse, and the prince of Anhalt, to whom, as well as to the prince of Orange, the confederacy was obliged for being increased by the duke of Savoy; by all of the reformed religion in Hungary, Bohemia, and Lower Austria; by many Protestant princes and towns in Germany; in fine, by all the Swiss Cantons of this religion. And when the succession of Cleves, which the emperor shewed himself disposed to usurp, became another incentive to the confederacy, there was then scarce any part of Germany that was not for us; which evidently appeared from the result of the general assembly at Hall. The elector of Saxony, who perhaps remained alone of the opposite party, might have been embarrassed in an affair, out of which he would probably have found it difficult to extricate himself; and this was to have been done, by suggesting to him the branch of John Frederic, deprived of this electorate by Charles V.

There were several of these powers, in regard to whom I am persuaded nothing would have been risked, by disclosing to them the whole intent and scope of the design. On the contrary, they would

probably have seconded it with the greater ardour, when they found the destruction of the Austrian grandeur was a determined point. These powers were, more particularly, the Venetians, the United Provinces, almost all the Protestants, and especially the Evangelics of Germany. But as too many precautions could not be taken, to prevent the Catholic powers from being prejudiced against the new alliance in which they were to be engaged, a too hasty discovery, either of the true motives, or the whole intent of the design, was therefore cautiously avoided. It was at first concealed from all without exception, and afterwards revealed but to a few persons of approved discretion, and those only such as were absolutely necessary to engage others to join the confederacy. The association was for a long time spoke of to others only as a kind of general treaty of peace, wherein such methods would be projected, as the public benefit, and the general service of Europe, might suggest as necessary to stop the progress of the excessive powers of the house of Austria. Our ambassadors and agents had orders only to demand of these princes a renewal or commencement of alliance, in order more effectually to succeed in the projected peace; to consult with them upon the means whereby to effect it; to appear as if they were sent only, in conjunction with them, to endeavour the discovery of these means; but yet to second them, and according to the disposition in which they were, to insinuate, as if by accidental conjecture, some notion of a new method more proper to maintain the equilibrium of Europe, and to secure to each religion a more undisturbed repose than they had hitherto enjoyed. The proposals made to the kings of England and Sweden, and the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, for alliances by marriage

proved very successful: it was absolutely determined, that the dauphin should espouse the heiress of Lorrain, which dutchy still continued, as before, to depend on the empire.

But no precaution appeared so necessary, nor was more strongly recommended to our negociators, than to convince all the princes of Europe of the disinterestedness with which Henry was resolved to act on this occasion. This point was indefatigably laboured, and they were convinced of it, when, on the supposition that it would be necessary to have recourse to arms, we strongly protested, that the forces, the treasures, and even the person of Henry, might be depended on; and this in a manner so generous on his side, that, instead of expecting to be rewarded, or even indemnified for them, he was voluntarily inclined to give the most positive assurances, not to reserve to himself a single town, nor the smallest district. This moderation, of which at last no one doubted, made a suitable impression, especially when it was perceived to be so much the more generous, as there was sufficient to excite and satisfy the desires of all. And, in the interim, before the solemn publication of this absolute renunciation, which was to have been made in the manifestoes that were preparing, Henry gave a proof of it, that was an absolute demonstration to the Pope.

No one being ignorant that as it was, at least, intended to deprive Spain of those of its usurpations which were the most manifestly unjust, Navarre and Rousillon would infallibly revert to France; the king therefore voluntarily offered to exchange them for the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and at the same time to make a present of both to the Pope and the republic of Venice. This, cer-

tainly, was renouncing the most incontestible right he could have to any of the territories of which this crown was to be deprived; and by submitting this affair, as he did, to the determination of the Pope and the Venetians, he the more sensibly obliged them, as both the honour and profit which might arise therefrom would be in their favour. The Pope, therefore, on the first proposition made to him, even anticipated Henry's intentions; he immediately demanded, whether, as affairs were then situated, the several powers would approve his taking upon him the office of common mediator, to establish peace in Europe, and convert the continual wars among its several princes into a perpetual war against the Infidels, which was a part of the design he had been very careful to acquaint him with: and the Pope sufficiently shewed, that he was desirous nothing should be done without his participation, and that he was still less disposed to refuse the advantage offered to him.

Paul V. when a favourable opportunity offered, explained himself more openly on this head. Ubaldini, his nuncio, told the king, that his holiness, for the confederacy against the house of Austria, would, on various pretences, engage to raise ten thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and ten cannons; provided his majesty would promise to defray the necessary expenses of their subsistence for three years; would give all possible security for the cession of Naples, and the other rights of homage according to promise; and would sincerely consent to the other condition, in regard to the treaty which he should think necessary to impose. These conditions, at least the principal of them, were, that only Catholics should be elected emperors; that the Roman religion should be maintained in all its rights,

and the ecclesiastics in all their privileges and immunities; and the Protestants should not be permitted to establish themselves in places where they were not established before the treaty. The king promised Ubaldini, that he would religiously observe all these conditions; and farther, he relinquished to the Pope the honour of being the arbitrator of all those regulations to be made in the establishment of the new republic.

The removing of these difficulties in regard to the Pope, was of no inconsiderable consequence; for his example would not fail to be of great force in determing the other Catholic powers, especially those of Italy. Nothing was neglected which might promote the favourable dispositions in which they appeared to be, by punctually paying the cardinals and petty princes of Italy their pensions, and even by adding to them several other gratuities. The establishment of a new monarchy in Italy was the only pretence these petty courts had for not joining the confederacy; but this vain apprehension would be easily dissipated. The particular advantages which each would acquire, might alone have satisfied them in this respect; but if not, all opposers might have been threatened with being declared, after a certain time, divested of all right to the proposed advantages, and even of all pretensions to the empire, or the elective kingdoms; and that the republics amongst them should be converted into sovereignties, and sovereignties into republics. There is but little probability that any of them would even have hesitated what to do. The punishment of the first offender would have compelled the submission of all these petty states, who were besides sufficiently sensible of their impotence. But this method was not to be used but on failure of all

others; and even then, no opportunity would have been neglected of shewing them favour.

And now we are arrived at the point to which every thing was advanced, at the fatal moment of the death of Henry the Great; and the following is a circumstantial detail of the forces for the war, which all the parties concerned had, in conjunction with him, agreed to furnish: The contingents of the kings of England, Sweden, and Denmark, were each eight thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and eight cannons; to be raised and maintained, in all respects, at their expense, at least for three years; and this expense, reckoning ten livres a month for each foot soldier, thirty livres for each trooper, the pay of the officers included, and the year to be composed of ten months, would amount, for each of these states, to three millions three hundred and seventy thousand livres for three years; the expense of the artillery, fifteen hundred livres a month for each piece, being also included. The princes of Germany, beforementioned, were to furnish twenty-five thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and forty cannons: they had themselves computed the expense at nine or ten millions for three years. The United Provinces, twelve thousand foot, two thousand horse, and ten cannons: the expense twelve millions. Hungary, Bohemia, and the other Evangelics of Germany, the same number, and nearly at the same expense. The Pope, ten thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and eight cannons. The duke of Savoy, eighteen thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twelve cannons. The Venetians, twelve thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twelve cannons. The expense of these last mentioned armaments the king himself had engaged to defray. The total of all these foreign forces, allowing for defi-

ciencies, which might probably have happened, would always have been, at least, one hundred thousand foot, from twenty to twenty-five thousand horse, and about one hundred and twenty cannons.

The king, on his side, had actually on foot two good and well furnished armies; the first, which he was to have commanded in person, consisted of twenty thousand foot, all native French, eight thousand Switzers, four thousand lansquenets or Walloons, five thousand horse, and twenty cannons. The second, to be commanded by Lesdiguieres, in the neighbourhood of the Alps, consisted of ten thousand foot, one thousand horse, and ten cannons; beside a flying camp, of four thousand foot, six hundred horse, and ten cannons; and a reserve of two thousand foot, to garrison those places where they might be necessary.* We will here make a general calculation of all these troops.

The twenty thousand foot, at twenty-one livres a month to each man, including the appointments of generals and officers, would, by the month, require four hundred and twenty thousand livres, and by the year, five millions and forty thousand livres; the eight thousand Switzers and four thousand lansquenets, three millions; the five thousand horse, at sixty livres a month to each, by the month, would require two hundred and forty thousand livres, and

* There are some variations in our Memoirs in regard to the number of men, both in the royal grand army, which, in different places, is said to be composed of thirty, thirty-two, and thirty-six thousand foot, of four, five, six, and eight thousand horse, and from thirty to fifty cannons; and in that of the confederate princes of Germany, sometimes computed even at forty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse; similar differences often occur in regard to those of Italy, and the other confederate princes: neither are the calculations of the expense always the same, nor quite just in their estimates.

by the year, two millions eight hundred and forty thousand livres: this computation is made so high as sixty livres a month to each, because the pay of the officers, and particularly of the king's white troops, composed of a thousand men of the first rank in the kingdom, who served as volunteers, was therein included. The expense of the twenty large cannons, six culverins, and four demi-culverins, supposing all necessary furniture for them provided, would amount to three thousand six hundred livres a month for each piece; the thirty together would consequently require one hundred and eight thousand livres. Extraordinary expenses and losses, in regard to the provisions and ammunition for this army, might be computed at one hundred and fifty thousand livres.

Next, for expenses, whether ordinary or extraordinary, in spies, for the sick and wounded, and other unforeseen contingencies, computing at the highest, a like sum of one million eight hundred thousand livres. To supply the deficiencies which might happen in the armies of the confederate princes, to pay the pensions, and to answer other particular exigencies which might arise in the kingdom, three hundred thousand livres a month; for the year, three millions six hundred thousand livres. The army of Lesdiguieres would require three millions a year; and as much for each of the armies of the Pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy. These four last articles together, make twelve millions a year; which, added to the preceding sums, amount in the whole to about thirty millions one hundred and sixty thousand livres a year.

It remains only to triple this total for the three years, during which it was supposed there might be occasion for the forces, and the whole amount will

appear to be between ninety and ninety-one millions, which might nearly be necessary to defray the expenses of the intended war; I say nearly, for in this calculation I have not included the flying camp, nor the two thousand men for garrisons: the first of these two articles, at the rate of eighteen livres a month to each foot soldier, and fifty livres to each trooper, would require a further sum of about one hundred and thirty thousand livres a month; which, for a year, would be one million five hundred thousand livres, and four millions five hundred thousand livres for three years: the second article for the three years, would require about twelve hundred thousand livres.

On a supposition that the expense of France, on this occasion, would not have amounted to more than between ninety and ninety-five millions; which supposition is far from being hazardous, because we have here computed every thing at the highest it would bear; it is easy to shew, that at the expiration of the three years, Henry would have remaining in his coffers thirty millions, over and above what would be expended. The total amount of all the receipts from the several funds, formed and to be formed for these three years, being one hundred and twenty-one millions five hundred and forty thousand livres, as appears from the three estimates which I drew up and presented to his majesty.

The first of these estimates, which contained only a list of the sums actually deposited in the Bastile, amounted to twenty-two millions four hundred and sixty thousand livres, in several coffers, marked Phelipeaux, Puget, and Bouhier: the second was another list, of the sums actually due from the farmers, partisans, and receivers-general; which might

be considered as in possession, and produced another total of eighteen millions six hundred and thirteen thousand livres; these two totals together made forty-one millions seventy-three thousand livres, which the king would immediately have at his disposal: to acquire the rest of these hundred and twenty-one millions, I had recourse, in the third estimate, to no new taxations: the whole remainder would arise solely from the offers of augmentation upon the several royal revenues which the farmers and partisans had made for a lease of three years, and from what the officers of justice and the finances had voluntarily engaged to furnish, provided they might be permitted the free enjoyment of certain privileges: so that in these one hundred and twenty-one millions, I had not comprehended the three years receipts of the other royal revenues. And in case it were afterwards necessary to have recourse to means somewhat more burthensome, I had given the king another estimate, whereby, instead of these one hundred and twenty-one millions, it appeared that one hundred and seventy-five millions might have been raised. I also demonstrated, that upon any pressing emergency, this kingdom could open itself resources of treasure that are almost innumerable.

It was very much to be wished, that the sums of money and the numbers of men to be furnished by the other confederates, would be equally well secured by such estimates: but whatever deficiences might have happened, having forty-one millions to distribute wherever it might be found necessary, what obstacles could Henry have to fear from a power who was known to be destitute of money, and even of troops? no one being ignorant, that the best and most numerous forces which Spain had

in its service were drawn from Sicily, Naples, and Lombardy; or else were Germans, Switzers, and Walloons.

Every thing therefore concurring to promote success, and good magazines being placed in proper parts of the passage, the king was on the point of marching, at the head of his army, directly to Mezières; from whence taking his rout by Clinchamp, Orchimont, Beauraign, Offais, Longpré, &c. after having caused five forts to be erected in these quarters, and therein placed his two thousand men destined for that purpose, with the necessary provisions and ammunition, he would, near Duren and Stavelo, have joined the two armies, which the princes of Germany and the United Provinces would have caused to march thither; and then beginning by occupying all those passages through which the enemy might find entrance into the territories of Juliers and Cleves, these principalities, which were a pretext for the armament, would consequently have immediately submitted to him, and would have been sequestrated, till it should appear how the emperor and the king of Spain would act, in regard to the designs of the confederate princes.

This was the moment fixed on to publish and make known throughout Europe, the declarations, in form of manifestoes, which were to open the eyes of all in regard to their true interests, and the real motives which had caused Henry and the confederate princes thus to take up arms. These manifestoes were composed with the greatest care; a spirit of justice, honesty, and good faith, of disinterestedness and good policy, were every where apparent in them: and, without wholly discovering the several changes intended to be made in Europe, it was intimated, that their common interest had

thus compelled its princes to arm themselves; and not only to prevent the house of Austria from getting possession of Cleves, but also to divest her of the United Provinces, and of whatever else she unjustly possessed; that their intentions were to distribute these territories among such princes and states as were the weakest; that the design was such, as could not surely give occasion to a war in Europe; that, though armed, the kings of France and the North rather chose to be mediators in the causes of complaint which Europe, through them, made against the house of Austria, and only sought to determine amicably all differences subsisting among the several princes; and that whatever was done on this occasion, should be not only, with the unanimous consent of all these powers, but even of all their people, who were hereby invited to give in their opinions to the confederate princes: such also would have been the substance of the circular letters which Henry and the associated princes would at the same time have sent to all places subject to them; that so the people being informed, and joining their suffrages, an universal cry from all parts of Christendom would have been raised against the house of Austria.

As it was determined to avoid with the utmost caution, whatever might give umbrage to any one, and Henry being desirous to give still more convincing proofs to his confederates, that to promote their true interests was his sole study and design; to the letters already mentioned he would have added others to be written to different courts, particularly to the electors of Cologne and Treves, the bishops of Munster, Liege, and Paderborn; and the duke and dutchess of Lorrain; and this conduct would have been pursued, in regard even to our enemies,

in the letters which were to be written to the archduke, and the infanta his wife, to the Emperor himself, and to all the Austrian princes, requesting them, from the strongest and most pressing motives, to embrace the only right and reasonable party; in all places, nothing would have been neglected, to instruct, convince, and gain confidence; the execution of all engagements, and the distribution or sequestration of whatever territories might require to be so disposed, would have been strictly, and even scrupulously, observed; force would never have been employed, till arguments, intreaties, embassies, and negociations, should have failed: finally, even in the use of arms, it would have been not as enemies, but pacifiers; the queen would have advanced as far as Metz, accompanied by the whole court, and attended by such pomp and equipage as were suitable only to peace.

Henry had projected a new method of discipline in his camp, which, very probably, would have produced the good effects intended by it, especially if his example had been imitated by the other princes his allies; he intended to have created four marshals of France, or at least four camp marshals, whose sole care should have been to maintain universal order, discipline, and subordination: the first of these would have had the inspection of the cavalry, the second of the French infantry, the third of the foreign forces, and the fourth of whatever concerned the artillery, ammunition, and provisions; and the king would have required an exact and regular account from these four officers, of whatever was transacted by them in their respective divisions. He applied himself with equal ardour to cause all military virtues to be revered and honoured in his army, by granting all employs and places of trust

to merit only, by preferring good officers, by rewarding the soldiers, by punishing blasphemies and other impious language, by shewing a regard both for his own troops and those of his confederates, by stifling a spirit of discord, caused by a difference of religions; and, finally, by uniting emulation with that harmony of sentiments which contributes more than all the rest to obtain victory.

The consequence of this enterprise, with regard to war, would have depended on the manner in which the emperor and the king of Spain should receive the propositions and reply to the manifestos of the confederate princes; it seems probable that the emperor, submitting to force, would have consented to every thing: I am even persuaded he would have been the first to demand an amicable interview with the king of France, that he might at least extricate himself with honour out of the difficulties in which he would have been involved; and he would probably have been satisfied with assurances, that the imperial dignity, with all its rights and prerogatives, should be secured to him for his life. The archdukes had made great advances; they engaged to permit the king, with all his troops, to enter their territories and towns, provided they committed no hostilities in them, and paid punctually, in all places, for whatever they required: if these appearances were not deceitful, Spain, being abandoned by all, must, though unwillingly, have submitted to the will of its conquerors.

But it may be supposed, that all the branches of the house of Austria would, on this occasion, have united, and, in defence of their common interests, would have used all the efforts of which they were capable. In this case, Henry and the confederate princes, by declaring war in form against their

enemies, and depriving the Spaniards of all communications, especially with the Low Countries; and having, as we have said, united all their forces, given audience to the princes of Germany, promised assistance to the people of Hungary and Bohemia who should come to implore it of them; and finally, secured the territory of Cleves: these princes, I say, would then have caused their three armies to advance towards Basle and Strasbourg to support the Switzers, who after having, for form's sake, asked leave of the emperor, would have declared for the union. The United Provinces, though at a considerable distance from these armies, would yet have been sufficiently defended by the flying camp, which Henry would have caused to advance towards them; by the arms of England and the North, to whose protection they would be entrusted: by the care which at first would have been taken to get possession of Charlemont, Maestrich, Namur, and other places near the Meuse; and finally, by the naval forces of these provinces, which, in conjunction with those of England, would have reigned absolute masters at sea.

These measures being taken, the war could have fallen only in Italy or Germany; and supposing it to have happened in the former, the three armies of Henry, the prince of Orange, and the princes of Germany, quitting Franche-Comté, after having fortified it in the same manner as the Low-Countries, by a small body of troops, would have marched with their forces towards the Alps, where they would have been joined by those of Lesdiguieres, the Pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy; who then would have declared themselves openly; the duke of Savoy, by requiring a portion for his dutchess, equal to what had been given to the infanta

Isabella; and the other powers, by demanding the execution of the agreement in regard to Navarre, Naples, and Sicily: and thus, from all parts of Europe, war would be declared against Spain. If the enemy should appear inclined to draw the war into Germany, then the confederates, having left a considerable number of troops in Italy, would have penetrated even into the heart of Germany, where, from Hungary and Bohemia, they would have been strengthened by those powerful succours which were there preparing.

The other events, in consequence of these dispositions, can only be conjectured, because they would greatly depend on the degree of alacrity with which the enemy should oppose the rapidity of our conquests, and on the readiness with which the confederates, especially those at the extremity of Germany, should make good their engagements. Nevertheless, I am persuaded, that from the dispositions as here laid down, there are none but must regard the house of Austria as struck by the blow whose force was for ever to annihilate its power, and open a passage to the execution of the other projected designs, to which this attack could only be considered as the preliminary: I will add too (and here the voice of all Europe will vindicate me from the imputation of partiality) that if the force necessary to render such an enterprise successful does always depend on the person of the chief who conducts it, this could not have been better conferred, than upon Henry the Great. With a valour alone capable of surmounting the greatest difficulties; and a presence of mind, which neither neglected nor lost any opportunities of advantage; with a prudence which, without precipitating any thing, or attempting too many things at a time, could regularly con-

nect them together, and perfectly knew what might and what might not be the result of time; with a consummate experience; and finally, with all those other great qualifications, whether as a warrior or politician, which were so remarkable in this prince; what is there which might not have been obtained? This was the meaning of that modest device which this great king caused to be inscribed on some of the last medals that were struck under his reign, *Nil sine concilio.*

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

LIFE OF THE DUKE OF SULLY,

AFTER HIS RETREAT.

Conduct of the duke of Sully in the assembly of the Protestants at Châtelleraut; and of this assembly with regard to the personal affairs of Sully: the part he has in the duke of Rohan's disputes with the queen-regent on account of St. Jean-d'Angely. The queen-regent's reliance upon him; and the letters which she writes to him during the rebellion of the princes and the Protestants. Councils which he gives her; and the services he performs on this occasion. He is made marshal of France. His discontent with his son and grandson. State of his family; and the disposition which he makes of his estates among his children. His death. Honours paid him by the dutchess of Sully. His tomb and epitaph. An account of his domestic conduct, and of his private life. Occupations of the dutchess his wife. The duke of Sully's sentiments upon religion. His public and private buildings.

THE first time we find the duke of Sully mentioned by the historians, after his retreat, is upon his appearance at the assembly of Protestants, held at Châtelleraut, in the year 1611. His mind was still embittered by the treatment he had met with at court; he was well informed that the duke of Bouillon, who, contrary to his real interest and character, was preparing to go thither to support the queen's rights against the Protestants, had put himself at the head of his enemies, and was endeavouring to deprive him of the government of Poitou, and of his post of master-general of the ordnance, which the queen regent had promised to bestow upon him,

in reward for the services she expected from him upon this occasion; it is not, therefore, surprising that, in such a conjuncture, the duke of Sully should act there with vigour and spirit. Those who favour the duke of Bouillon have, through resentment that he failed in his attempt, accused the dukes of Sully and Rohan of seeking to rekindle the war between the Protestants and the Catholics; but they are the only persons who speak in this manner. All the other writers agree that the conduct of M. de Sully was wholly free from blame; and indeed his enemies acted with so much heat and malignity against him, that the author of the French Mercury,* whom I shall follow in this period of the duke of Sully's history, condemns him for not taking the only measures that remained to secure his repose. Here follows a short account of what passed, with regard to the duke of Sully, at the assembly of Châtelleraut, or of Samur; for his enemies, being apprehensive that he would be too powerful if it was held at Châtelleraut, caused it to be transferred to Samur.

The duke of Bouillon making no secret of his intentions to reduce the Calvinists his brethren, and the duke of Sully in particular, to the last extremity, the common interest reunited the latter with du Plessis Mornay and the principal Protestant ministers, who, till then, as has been seen through the course of these Memoirs, had acted with great reserve towards him, and great distrust of his sentiments. They began by refusing the dignity of president of their assembly to the duke of Bouillon, and conferred it on du Plessis; and made him sensible how much they were offended at the part he had acted, by continually opposing him; so that he

* Anno 1611, p. 75.

could not obtain any of those demands which might probably have been granted to an agent of the Catholic religion, which was a convincing proof that the queen-regent committed a great error when she made choice of the duke of Bouillon to serve her on this occasion. However, a kind of reconciliation was made between him and the duke of Sully, through the interposition of du Plessis; and from that time the duke found no more obstacles to hinder him from interesting the Protestant body in his particular cause, which became one of the chief subjects of their deliberations.

The assembly addressed him, entreated, and enjoined him (these are the terms made use of by the French Mercury) not to resign his employments, promised to support him, &c.; to which the duke of Sully answered by a speech, in which he asked the advice of the assembly upon four things. 1st, If he ought to take no notice of the proceedings of his enemies with respect to him? 2d, If, on the contrary, he ought himself to make a demand of being again restored to his places? 3d, If it was more eligible to accept of a recompense for them; and, lastly, If this recompense ought to be honour and security rather than profit? for it was to conceal the design they had of ruining him entirely, that the court made a proposal to him to receive a marshal's staff, or a considerable sum of money in exchange for his post of master-general of the ordnance, and his government of Poitou. M. de Sully concluded this discourse, in which he could not forbear mingling some complaints of the rigour which the council of the queen-regent used towards him, with excusing himself for not having sooner laid before them the hardships he suffered on account of the great difficulty he found to persuade himself

that there were really such plots formed against him, as well as of his fears of displeasing some persons to whom he owed all imaginable respect.

This discourse was as agreeable to the Protestants as it was displeasing to Bullion and the rest of the queen's agents. In their answer they indeed bestowed very high praises on the duke of Sully's administration; but they taxed him with being ungenerous, and of having entertained a design to force the queen to restore him to his place in the ministry. M. de Sully answered this accusation by another remonstrance, in which he referred his interests to the assembly. The duke of Bouillon perceiving what was likely to be the event, took off the mask a second time, and began to cabal with all the Protestants, whom he thought there was a possibility of gaining. In effect, he drew over some; but all his endeavours to gain the duke of Rohan were fruitless: and having neither been able, with all his address, to hinder the greater number from adhering to the party of his adversary, or to suspend the conclusion, they passed on to their deliberations, the result of which was, that they would assist M. de Sully, if his administration was enquired into, *by unlawful ways.*

Bullion, and the rest of the queen's creatures, put every thing in motion to obtain a recantation or restriction. As for the duke of Bouillon, he broke out into rage and exclamation: he gave the most violent counsels to the queen, who contented herself, however, with sending letters in the king's name to the assembly, which du Plessis, for fear of the consequences they might produce, thought proper to suppress. They now had recourse to mediums and modifications. All the other articles were amicably settled, and that which regarded M. de Sully was

suffered to rest, because it was apparent to the whole world that they could not, with any shadow of justice, accuse him of being an unfaithful minister, much less an enemy to the state; and because the duke of Bouillon, being disgusted with the queen for disappointing him in his expectations of reward, ceased on a sudden to act with the same heat and animosity. The duke of Sully, therefore, remained in the same situation as when he retired from court.

The following year (1612), the war between the two religions was upon the point of being resumed, by an incident for which our Memoirs seem to prepare us.* Brassac, whom his majesty had appointed to be king's lieutenant of St. Jean-d'Angely, after the death of Des-Ageaux, was driven out of that city by the duke of Rohan, whose whole conduct, from that time, sufficiently declared that his sentiments were very different from those of his father-in-law. Although the regent was then in a condition to give him law, and all the Protestants were greatly in fear of her, yet this affair was terminated wholly to the duke's advantage, who obtained all that he demanded. M. de Sully signed the agreement, which was made in the synod of Privas, between the duke of Rohan on one side, and the queen's agents on the other. This was all the share he had in this great rupture.

The two following letters, which I have transcribed from the originals, in the cabinet of the present duke of Sully, prove that the queen-mother had recourse to Maximilian on many occasions, and that he laboured with great diligence to prevent or appease the troubles which afterwards arose between the princes and the grandees of the kingdom.

* See vol. III. p. 402.

A Letter from the Queen-mother to the Duke of Sully.

"Cousin,

"I have sent the sieur de Bethune your brother "to confer with you concerning the present occur- "rences,* and have charged him to assure you of

* These occurrences were the discontent, and retreat from the court, of the prince of Condé, the dukes of Nevers, Maïenne, Vendome, and Longueville, the marquis de Cœuvres and others, his partisans, being disgusted with the conduct of the queen-regent and her favourite Conchini (now marquis d'Ancre). The prince retired to Mezieres, which was held by the duke of Nevers, while the others repaired to the different places over which their influence or power extended, where they began to collect forces together. From Mezieres the prince wrote a letter to the queen, in which he remonstrated against the disorders committed in the government under her authority, and complained that the princes of the blood, and the chief nobles of the kingdom were excluded from all share in the administration of affairs, which were confided to three or four persons, who, to maintain themselves in their authority, were constantly sowing divisions amongst the nobility, while they wasted the treasures of the state, and placed the arsenals and frontier cities in the hands of foreigners unworthy of such employments: and concluded with a demand that an assembly of the states should be convened, as was usual during every minority, in order to confirm the different edicts, and to provide against disorders in the kingdom. He also wrote to the Parliament at Paris, and to all the nobles who had not already joined him, exhorting them to unite with him, and to the deputies-general of the Protestants, whom he took care to inform he had not forgot in his remonstrances. The queen-regent, however, by acceding to the demands of the malecontents, prevented, for the present, any further hostile proceeding; a treaty was concluded at St. Menhoult on the 15th of May, by which Amboise was placed in the hands of the prince, St. Menhoult given to the duke of Nevers, a sum of money granted to the duke of Bouillon (who had been the secret abettor of this cabal), and an assembly of the states promised. The duke of Vendome, who refused to accede to this treaty, was soon after obliged to submit to the king, who advanced into Brittany against him at the head of an army.

" my affection, and of my reliance on the conti-
" nuance of yours, for the service of the king,
" monsieur my son. You may give absolute credit
" to what he shall say to you on both these subjects,
" as you would do to the person of your good cousin,

Paris, Feb. 12, 1614. " MARY."

It is superscribed, " To my Cousin, the Duke of " Sully, peer, and master-general of the ordnance " of France."

Another Letter from the Queen to M. de Sully.

" Cousin,

" Having received your letter of the 1st instant " on the 9th, I delayed answering it till my arrival " in this province, to the end that, being better " informed of the particular things which happened, " and the state affairs are in at present, I might " tell you with more certainty my opinion of them " all in general: but I have found here so much con- " fusion and tumult, so many complaints and in- " fringements of the agreement of St. Menhoult, " that I confess I know not where to begin, or " what to desire you to do for me upon this occa- " sion. Declarations are every where made, and " assurances given me of zeal and fidelity for the " service of the king my son, and the public good, " which are indeed very acceptable; but I find " effects so contrary to all this, that I no sooner " entertain any favourable hopes, than they vanish " in an instant. I do not write this upon your own " particular account; for I depend upon your affec- " tion to the good of your country and our own " happiness, in proportion to the experience I have " had of it, and the assurance you have given me;

" but I write to condole with you upon the change-
" ableness and uncertainty of such proceedings. I
" have within these two days received your last
" letter here; the bearer of this will tell you what
" I think of it.

" I do not doubt but that you have, with a freedom
" and zeal becoming a good subject and an honest
" man, made those remonstrances to my nephew,
" the prince of Condé, which you have given me an
" account of in your letter, and I am rejoiced to
" hear that he has taken them well of you; but, if
" he approves of your advice, what hinders him
" from following it? By so doing he will get rid of
" those perplexities in which you tell me he is in-
" volved; he will receive of me every reasonable
" proof he can desire of my good will, and all the
" respect and deference due to his quality. If to
" assure him of this, any thing depends upon me,
" I shall be glad to know it, and to have your
" opinion: but I have not yet received those letters,
" which he told you he wrote to me upon that sub-
" ject. I wish they may be such as may give me
" that satisfaction, both with respect to him and his
" friends, for the service of the king my son, as he
" has often made me hope for, and even request;
" and, this done, I shall make him such returns as
" he shall have just reason to be contented with:
" as likewise all those who shall follow his example.

" I have not yet seen the duke of Vendome; so
" that I know not what I ought to hope from his
" obedience; for I have advice that he continues to
" fortify Lamballe, and has engaged a great number
" of soldiers, who have served, or rather disserved
" him during these last commotions, and especially
" since the contract of St. Menhoult, to which the
" king my son and myself are endeavouring to

" apply the necessary remedies, by the advice of the " states of the country, which we are to propose to- " morrow. As I promise myself that you will always " continue faithful to the interests of the king my " son, and that you will readily embrace every " opportunity of serving him, you may make what " use you think proper of this for that purpose; " and I beseech God, cousin, &c. Written at Nantes, " August 18, 1614.

" Your good cousin,

" MARY."

In the year 1616 the revolt of the Protestants broke out.* On this occasion the duke of Sully

* Notwithstanding the stipulations of the treaty of St. Menhoult, mentioned in the preceding note, the prince of Condé was deprived of Amboise; this, with other infractions of that treaty, gave rise to the events alluded to in this and the following pages. The prince again retired from the court; issued a very severe manifesto against the queen, and the government, and proceeded to raise troops both in France and Germany. The duke of Rohan also, and his brother, were likewise in arms, and joined their forces to those of the prince. In this extremity the court had recourse to the dukes of Bouillon and Maïenne, the two most considerable persons in the prince's party, whom it so far gained over, that through their persuasions the prince consented to a cessation of arms, and a conference to be held at Loudon: the duke of Sully was present at this conference, which produced another treaty of peace, equally favourable to the prince and the Huguenots. It was not, however, followed by any good consequences; for, through the persuasions of the marquis d'Ancre, the queen-regent soon after caused the prince of Condé to be arrested on a charge of still continuing his intrigues, and sent him to the Bastile, from whence he was conducted to Vincennes. This violent proceeding, which, we see above, excited Sully's indignation, roused likewise that of all the prince's friends, who immediately withdrew from the court, and prepared for war. The queen, on her part, ordered three armies to take the field, under the command of the duke of Guise, marshal Montigny, and the count d'Auvergne, who had been freed from his long confinement in the Bastile, through

gave a convincing proof that he preferred the welfare of the state to the interest of his party, and even to his own particular interest; for when it was proposed to him to reunite the party of the prince of Condé with that of the Protestants, a design which, according to all appearance, would have ruined the kingdom, the duke of Sully, whose suffrage was of the utmost consequence, refused absolutely to give it, and remained constantly attached

d'Ancre's influence. These commanders were every where successful. Montigny took Bourges, and the castle of Chinon, which had been granted to the prince by the treaty of Loudon; and in the beginning of 1617 the duke of Guise gained, without much resistance, all the places held by the duke of Nevers, and prepared to besiege Mezieres, while d'Auvergne took Pierrefonds and laid siege to Soissons. The duke of Bouillon had retired to Sedan, where he endeavoured to raise some foreign troops for the defence of that place.

In the midst of these reverses of the prince's adherents an event occurred, which not only extricated them from total ruin, and put an end to the war, but likewise gave a new turn to the whole of the affairs of the kingdom; this was the death of the marquis d'Ancre, on the 24th of April, 1617. This ambitious and worthless favourite, who had governed France for seven years, was now become the object of universal hatred, and fell at last a victim to the intrigues of M. de Luines, a favourite likewise, but of the young king, on whom he prevailed to order the marquis to be arrested; but Vitry, the captain of the guards, to whom this commission was intrusted, attempting to execute it as the marquis entered the Louvre, the latter making some resistance was killed on the spot. His wife, who, as well as himself, has been so often mentioned in these Memoirs, was immediately arrested, and shortly after beheaded by a decree of the parliament; and the chancellor Sillery, du Vair, Villeroy, and Jeannin, who had been lately displaced by d'Ancre, were restored to their several posts. The queen-mother was, at the same time, deprived of her guards, confined to her apartments, and afterwards exiled to Blois, where she continued till 1619, when she made her escape to Angouleme, through the assistance of the duke d'Epernon; here she came to an agreement with the king her son, which was confirmed by a treaty. In this year also the prince of Condé was set at liberty, and continued ever after a faithful adherent to the king.

to the king. Let us see what marshal Bassompierre says on this subject in his Memoirs: "M. de Sully, ever solicitous for the good of the state, maintained himself in the esteem and respect of both parties, and endeavoured to set them right, as long as they could subsist in the state they were, by sending informations sometimes to the queen-mother, and sometimes to the prince; and, on August the 26th, the duke of Sully demanded an audience of the queen. He then told her, that matters were brought to such extremity, that it was not possible they could continue eight days longer in the same situation; that as the balance was now held, the whole authority must necessarily fall into the hands of the prince; that it was still in her own choice whether to keep or suffer herself to be dispossessed of her's. He declared that she was not secure in Paris, and that she and her children would be safer in the field, with a thousand horse, than in the Louvre, while the minds of the nobles and people were thus enraged. He said, that his duty, and the obligations he had to the deceased king, required that he should make her these remonstrances; and that, if there was no other remedy for the present evils but the loss of his life, he would sacrifice it willingly for the preservation of the king, herself, and the state; then, taking leave of her, he implored her to consider well what he had said: and added, that, if she did not apply the only fit and reasonable remedy to these commotions, she would be answerable for all the consequences of them, since she had been warned beforehand of what was likely to happen."

The author of the History of the Mother and Son* renders, in spite of himself, this justice to the

* Tom. II. p. 61, 62.

duke of Sully: "M. de Sully," says he, "demanded "an audience of the queen, that he might confer "with her upon an affair, which, he said, was of "no less importance than the preservation of the "king's life and her's. The queen had taken phy- "sic that day; but, upon a matter of such conse- "quence, she thought she could not dispense with "herself from seeing him. The king happened, by "chance, to be present; as were likewise the sieurs "Mangot and Barbin. The duke of Sully then made "a speech, in which he expatiated upon the bad "designs of the princes, and the inevitable dangers "which he foresaw for the king. The sieurs Man- "got and Barbin told him, that it was not enough "to discover an evil; he ought likewise to propose "some proper remedies to obviate it. To this he "only added, that the attempt was hazardous, and "that they must expect to see very fatal conse- "quences; then, quitting the queen's closet, he "said, 'Sire,' and you, madam, I entreat your ma- "jesties to think well on what I have said: I have "discharged my conscience; would to God you "were in the midst of twelve hundred horse! I see "no other remedy." Saying this he went away.

It must be confessed, that to the hatred which this writer bore the duke of Sully, is owing the following recital:* "This prince of Condé being ar- "rested, the ministers told the queen, that, unless "she released him, all was lost. M. de Sully, whose "vehemence of temper would not allow him time "for reflection, nor to give his advice in the pre- "sent exigence on what might be apprehended for "the future, without blaming past proceedings, said, "that whoever had counselled the queen to arrest

* Tom. II. p. 94.

" the prince, had ruined the state. The queen re-
" plied, that she was astonished to hear him speak
" in that manner; and that he must certainly have
" lost his reason, since he did not remember what
" he himself had said to the king and her but three
" days before. These words threw him into such
" confusion that he withdrew immediately, to the
" great astonishment of all the lords who were pre-
" sent. His wife endeavoured afterwards to excuse
" him, by alleging that it was the terrors he la-
" boured under at that time, which had forced him
" to speak so, having been informed that the princes
" and nobles of the prince of Condé's party had
" resolved to murder him, through a suspicion
" that he was the cause of the prince's deten-
" sion, by the discoveries he had made of their
" designs."

Without examining here whether the duke of Sully contradicted himself in the advice he gave the queen at these two different times, we shall grant that the resolution they had taken to arrest the prince of Condé, was both prudent and necessary; and the inference I shall draw from these circumstances is, that this minister never swerved from his attachment to the interest of the king and the public good, on an occasion so favourable to the Protestant party, where he himself ran great risks.

He observed the same conduct during the rest of his life. He was invested with the king's authority in the assemblies of Rouen and Loudun: he supported, like a good citizen and a loyal subject, his majesty's party against the Protestants, when the war was declared under the administration of cardinal Richelieu: he was present at the siege of Mont-

tauban,* and other encounters: he even performed all the functions of master-general of the ordnance at the siege of St. Jean-d'Angely, and the train of artillery there was furnished and conducted with the greatest care. He kept this office till his death, although the writer of the duke of Bouillon's life says that it was taken from him. Louis XIII. gave him a marshal's staff, September 18, 1634. The preceding year Pope Urban VIII. wrote him a letter in Latin, to which M. de Sully sent an answer by his grandson, the prince of Henrichemont, and which produced a second brief from the Pope, in Latin likewise, dated July 16, 1633.

In the same year he lost the marquis de Rosny, his eldest son, whose conduct had been a continual source of affliction to him, not only because the marquis followed none of the wise counsels he gave him, and joined himself to the enemies of the state, but because the duke of Sully felt, in more ways than one, the extreme disorder of his son's affairs. And here it is necessary we should give some account of the duke of Sully's domestic concerns, which will serve to explain several parts of these Memoirs where the marquis of Rosny is mentioned, and particularly what is said of him in the twenty-ninth book.

The duke of Sully, besides two daughters, the eldest of whom was married to the duke of Rohan, and the youngest to the marquis of Mirepoix, had

* This was in 1621, in the first war with the Huguenots in Louis he Thirteenth's reign. The garrison was commanded by the marquis de la Force, and the royal army by the king in person, attended by six marshals, and all the chief nobility of the kingdom. The king, however, was obliged to raise the siege, during which the duke of Maïenne was killed. Edit.

three sons; Maximilian de Bethune, marquis de Rosny, he had by his first wife Anne de Courtenay; and Cæsar and Francis de Bethune, by his second, Rachel de Cochefilet. The great estates he was possessed of having been acquired since his second marriage, the children by that marriage seemed entitled to the largest share of them; nevertheless, the duke of Sully thinking himself obliged to secure to the marquis of Rosny such an estate as might enable him to support the grandeur of his house, of which he was the eldest; to the posts of master-general of the ordnance, superintendant of the fortifications, and to the governments of Mante and Gergeau, the reversion of which he obtained for him, and which he estimated at sixty thousand livres a year, he added, among other gifts, a donation of lands, producing a yearly revenue of fifty thousand livres, consisting of the dutchy of Sully, the marquisate of Rosny, the principality of Henrichemont and Boisbelle, with all their dependencies, the property of which, however, he reserved to himself during his life. The deed of entail, which is dated March 16, 1609, has in it this singular clause: "That on the supposition that none of those, whether male or female, chose to fulfil the aforesaid "terms and conditions, the said lord, who makes "this settlement, gives, by the present writing, the "abovesaid lands to the king or his descendants, "according to their seniority, on condition that the "said lands shall never be disunited from the crown: "and that he who shall possess them, if he be not "the king, or the king's eldest son, shall be obliged, "and his descendants after him, to bear, together "with his own name and arms, the surname and "arms of Bethune."

But afterwards being solicitous to prevent any occasion for disunion in his family, M. de Sully the following year made two other donations and conveyances of his other possessions in the same form, and by an act of the same kind, in favour of Cæsar and Francis de Bethune, his youngest sons: namely, of the land and lordship of Villebon to Cæsar; and to Francis de Bethune, called count d'Orval, of the lands of Montrond, Orval, Bruyeres, Epineuil, Beauchesal, La-Roche-Guillebaut, and Le-Châtelet, in Berry. The value of each of these donations is estimated at ten thousand livres a year. It is there stipulated that the fortifications, arms, ammunition, and furniture, as well those which were in all these castles when the donation was made, as those which should be found there at the death of the duke of Sully, should be comprehended in the donation; and if either of his two sons, to whom they were made over, should die without heirs, his portion was to go entire to the survivor. This happened four years after; for, Cæsar de Bethune dying unmarried in 1614, the count d'Orval reunited in himself the two articles of conveyance. In 1620 his father married him to Jacqueline de Caumont, daughter of the grand-marshal de la Force, and grand-daughter of the first marshal Biron; and he confirmed, by the marriage contract, the act of entail, made in the year 1610.

Before and after the duke of Sully had made these dipositions of his estates, the marquis de Rosny continued to hold his possessions jointly with his father. This community of goods was wholly to the advantage of the son, his mother's estate alone not being sufficient to supply his expenses: but it exposed the duke of Sully to the prosecution of his

son's creditors. The duke paid his debts several times; but they became so considerable, by the prodigality and bad management of the marquis de Rosny, that he took a resolution, at length, to leave him to himself. Such was the beginning of his domestic troubles.

This was soon followed by others more considerable; for after the death of the marquis de Rosny, his creditors taking the advantage of the community of goods, made an attempt to seize upon some of the possessions of the duke of Sully. The prince of Henrichemont,* his grandson, joined with them to annul these conveyances, in which he was greatly assisted by the circumstances the duke of Sully was then in, who, to get himself clear of the prince of Condé, had been obliged to do and undo many establishments, and had gained, and sold, and regained, at several times, a great part of the lands contained in those conveyances; such as, Villebon, Montrond, &c. This kept the duke of Sully in continual perplexity with disputes and law-suits, part of which, however, were amicably settled by the marriage of the prince of Henrichemont with the daughter of the chancellor Seguier,† in the year 1639; upon which, the duke of Sully, who was then upon good terms with the prince of Condé, having Villebon restored, and all his other acqusitions secured to him, made over again, in the year 1640, a new conveyance, confirming the former, by which he gave

* Maximilian-Francis de Bethune, the third of that name, duke of Sully, prince of Henrichemont and Boisbelle, marquis de Rosny, lieutenant-general for the government of Dauphiny and the Pais-Vexin, governor of Mante and Meulan: he died in 1661.

† Charlotte Seguier, daughter of the chancellor Seguier.

other lands, in the place of those that might be alienated.

The discontent of the prince of Henrichemont broke out again upon this new conveyance, and set on foot a law-suit, of which Lewis XIII. and his first minister took the cognizance to themselves, and which continued during the years 1640 and 1641; the petitions and principal pieces of this suit have been printed: the duke of Sully complains there bitterly, that his grandson and the chancellor Seguier, who supported him, sought to take advantage of some failures in the formalities of the settlements, unavoidable perhaps in affairs so long and so complicated. But it would be improper here to enter into a discussion of this point of law. Supposing that all possible right was not on the side of the duke of Sully, yet it must be confessed, that the voice of nature, and a principle of gratitude, ought to have carried it in favour of a man who had raised his family to such a degree of splendor: however that may be, the duke of Sully had the mortification to find himself, by a decree of council given in December, 1641, obliged to revoke his conveyance of four of those estates which had been given in the room of the former that had been alienated. He was then eighty-two years old, and it is probable that, jealous as he was of the paternal authority, and convinced in his own mind, that in all he had done he had exactly followed the laws of equity, this stroke affected him so sensibly, that it contributed to shorten his life: he died eight days afterwards at Villebon, December 22, 1641.

His bowels were put into a kind of leaden urn, and deposited in the vault of the collegiate church

of Saint-Anne in Villebon, and upon the vault over it this inscription was placed:

Here lie the bowels of the most high, most puissant, and most illustrious lord, Maximilian de Bethune, duke of Sully, peer and marshal of France.

His body was to be carried to Aumône, or Hotel Dieu of Nogent, but the mausoleum which was erecting for him there not being finished, it was laid in a leaden coffin, and placed in the duke of Sully's camber in the castle of Villebon, where he died. The ceilings, the floors, and walls of this apartment, were hung with black cloth: it was left there exposed to view, under a canopy of black velvet, with bands of silver stuff, and the arms of Bethune at the four corners.

In the mean time, the dutchess of Sully caused a closet to be built in the lower gallery of the castle of Villebon, in order to place a statue in it, which she designed to erect to the memory of her husband; and for this purpose she bought a block of white marble, the finest that could be procured, and sent for one of the most excellent sculptors of that time from Italy. In the front of this closet is written, in large characters, the ten commandments, as they stand in the book of Exodus; on one of the sides, the epitaph of the deceased; upon the other, his coat of arms, with all the ensigns of his office; the top, and all the rest of the closet, is filled with pictures, emblems, and mottos, which it is not necessary to describe here: it is lighted by a long window which occupies the farther end. The statue is placed in the midst of the closet, upon a pedestal of white marble likewise; it is a little larger than the life, and represents the duke of Sully, armed from his neck to his feet, with a crown of laurel

upon his head, and the ducal mantle on his shoulders; in his right hand, stretched out, he holds the marshal's staff; and his left is leaning upon his coat of arms: the marshal's staff, as well as his casque, adorned with the plume of feathers, which lies at the left side of the statue, are cut out of the same block. This whole piece is so beautiful and so highly finished, that it may vie with the ancient monuments of Greece and Rome. Over the door of the closet is written, in cartouche:

Rachel de Cochefilet, Dutchess Dowager of Sully, after the death of Maximilian de Bethune, Duke of Sully, her husband, with whom she lived forty-nine years in marriage, to honour his memory, and in testimony of her grief for his loss, has erected this statue, in the year 1642.

The body of this lady being, after her death, deposited by that of her husband, the mausoleum, which we are going to describe, was common to them both: it is a round chapel, built on the side of that of Saint James de l'Aumône, or the Hospital of Nogent, called from their name Nogent le Bethune; it has no communication with the church, because the duke and dutchess of Sully were so unhappy as to die in the principles of the pretended reformed religion.* Under this chapel is a vault, where both their bodies are interred. The walls on the inside of this chapel are adorned with the coats

* This is in the genuine spirit of Roman Catholic bigotry. How little could this writer conceive, while thus foolishing affecting to deplore the "unhappiness," as he terms it, of the duke of Sully, that the days were fast approaching in which his "pretended" true "religion" was to be degraded, and virtually destroyed, not only in France but in almost every part of Europe where it was professed, by an usurper of the throne of the Bourbons

of arms and alliances of the house of Bethune; the dome is only coloured with a plain blue, sprinkled with flowers de luce: the effigies of the duke and dutches are of white marble, as large as the life; they are kneeling upon a pedestal, three feet in heighth, with their faces turned towards the east: by an inscription upon the pedestal we are told, that this work, which is very well executed, was the performance of B. Boudin, in the year 1642. Behind the statue of the duke of Sully, is this inscription:

Here lies the body of the most high, most puissant, and most illustrious, Lord, Maximilian de Bethune, Marquis of Rosny, who shared in all the fortunes of king Henry the Great, among which was that memorable battle which gave the crown to the Victor; where, by his valour, he gained the white standard, and took several prisoners of distinction. He was by that Great Monarch, in reward of his many virtues and distinguished merit, honoured with the dignities of Duke, Peer, and Marshal of France, with the governments of the Upper and Lower Poitou, with the office of Master-general of the Ordnance, in which, bearing the thunder of his Jupiter, he took the castle of Montmelian, till then believed impregnable, and many other fortresses of Savoy; he was likewise made Superintendant of the Finances, which office he discharged singly with a wise and prudent economy, and continued his faithful services till that unfortunate day when the Cæsar of the French nation lost his life by the hand of a parricide. After the lamented death of that Great King, he retired from public affairs, and passed the remainder of his life in ease and tranquillity. He died at the castle of Villebon, December 22, 1641, *aged eighty-two years.—Here also*

lies the most high, most puissant, and most illustrious lady, Madam Rachel de Cochefilet, his wife, who died at Paris in the ninety-seventh year of her age, in the year 1659.

The way to this chapel is through a long court, planted on each side with elms; at the entrance of which is a portal, of very beautiful architecture, with the arms of the house of Bethune in high-relief, and all the additions belonging to the arms of the duke of Sully. The house of Bethune bears, *d'argent, facé de gueules*, supported by two savages armed with clubs.

Before Villebon was restored to the duke of Sully he divided his residence between Sully, La Chapelle-d'Angillon, which is a very fine house and barony dependant on the dutchy of Sully, and Rosny, which of all his houses, he most embellished, as he reckoned upon this being always kept in his family: he was building the wings when he had the misfortune to lose the king his benefactor; and, as a witness of his grief for that loss, he left those wings imperfect, and in the same condition they were in at the time of that sad event. But when he became again possessed of Villebon, the beauty of that castle, its situation in a most agreeable country, its contiguity to Paris, for it is not more than twenty leagues distant from that city, and the advantage of being in the centre of several great estates which he had purchased with the money arising from the sale of those he had been obliged to part with to the prince of Condé; all these considerations determined him to fix his stay there during six whole months of the year, which were the autumn and the winter: he used, in the spring, to make some short journeys to Sully; but that place was become very disagreeable to him, on account of the conduct of his eldest son:

the rest of the year he passed at La-Chapelle-d'Angillon, at Rosny, and his other estates.

The life he led in his retreat was accompanied with decency, grandeur, and even majesty; such as might be expected from a character so grave and so full of dignity as his. Besides a great many gentlemen and pages, by whom he was attended, and ladies and maids of honour about the person of the dutchess of Sully, he had one company of guards, with their officers, and another of Swiss; and so great a number of domestics, that there are but few examples of subjects who have kept so grand and so numerous an household. The present duke of Sully has conversed with the son of an old surgeon, belonging to his ancestor, the duke of Sully, the last of this branch, who died at the age of eighty-eight years, and who was about fourteen when the duke of Sully, of whom we are speaking, died: this man told him, that he had accompanied his father in his visits to the sick in the castle of Villebon; and had reckoned fourscore of them, without perceiving that the service of the house suffered the least disorder or delay upon that account.

M. de Sully always continued his custom of rising very early in the morning; after some time spent in prayers and reading, he set himself to work with his four secretaries: this work consisted in putting his papers in order, in digesting his Memoirs, in answering the several letters he received, in regulating his domestic affairs, and, lastly, in taking cognizance of those which related either to his governments or his posts; for he continued, till his death, governor of the Upper and Lower Poitou and of Rochelle, master-general of the ordnance, surveyor-general of France, and superintendant of the fortifications. He usually passed the whole morning in

these occupations; except that he sometimes went out to take the air half an hour or an hour before dinner; they then rung a great bell which was upon the bridge, to give notice that he was going out; the greatest part of his household ranged themselves on each side, from the bottom of the stair-case to the door of his apartment; his equerries, gentlemen, and officers, walked before him, preceded by two Swiss with their halberts; the duke came next, with some of his friends and relations on each side of him, with whom he conversed; then followed the officers of his French and Swiss guards; and the procession was always closed by four Swiss.

At his return, he went into the hall, where he dined: this was a very large room, in which he had caused the most memorable actions of his own life, together with those of Henry the Great, to be painted; at the upper end of the table two armed chairs were placed for the duke and dutchess; all his children, married as well as unmarried, of whatever rank or dignity, had only stools; for at that time the subordination between parents and their children was so great, that they were not permitted to sit in their presence, without being commanded to do so. His table was served with taste and magnificence; he admitted to it none but the nobility in his neighhourhood, some of the principal gentlemen, and the ladies and maids of honour who belonged to the dutchess of Sully: except his guests, all the company retired as soon as the dessert was brought in. After dinner they withdrew into a cabinet adjoining the hall where they dined: this was called the cabinet of illustrious men, because it was adorned with the portraits of popes, kings, princes, and other great and celebrated persons, from whom he had received them; many of these portraits are still to be seen at Villebon.

In another adjoining hall, magnificently furnished, the captain of his guards had a second table, served with almost as much grandeur as the first; here sat the younger sort, and indeed those only whom, on account of the disproportion of age, he chose not to receive at his own table. The present duke of Sully has been told by several persons of quality, that when they have accompanied their fathers in the visits they made to his ancestor, he kept only them at his own table, saying to the young men, *You are not old enough to eat with us, we should grow weary of one another.*

When he had staid some time with the company, he retired to his own apartment, where for two or three hours he employed himself in the same manner as in the morning. If the season and the weather permitted it, he took a walk in the afternoon, attended with the same train as before: he often went into his gardens, and passing through a little covered alley, which separated the flower from the kitchen garden, ascended by a stone stair-case (which the present duke of Sully has caused to be destroyed) into a large walk of linden trees, upon a terrace on the other side of the garden. It was then the taste to have a great number of narrow walks, very closely shaded with four or five rows of trees or palisadoes: here he used to sit upon a settee painted green, and large enough to hold two persons, and leaning his elbows upon a large grated window, which has been lately taken away likewise, amused himself with beholding, on the one side, an agreeable landscape; and on the other, a second alley, on a terrace, extremely beautiful, which surrounded a large piece of water, called the New Pond, and terminated by a wood of lofty trees, called the Great Park. In this park also he used sometimes

to walk, and often was drove about it in his chariot or coach, with the dutchess his wife. The interval between these airings and supper, he spent in the same occupations as in the morning: at supper, the same form was obsersed as at dinner: after which, every one retired to their respective apartments.

The duke of Sully, on account of his religion, could not be admitted into any order: he therefore made one for himself. In the inventory of his effects there were several diamond rings for that use. He wore about his neck, and more especially after the death of Henry IV. a chain of gold or diamonds, to which hung a large gold medal which had in relievo the figure of that great prince. He used often to take this medal out of his bosom, stop, and contemplate it, and then kiss it with the utmost reverence and affection: he never would quit it, not even when he went to court, any more than his ancient dress, which he always preserved; for he would not subject himself to the change of fashions. It is well known what happened to him one day when he went to court in consequence of a message from Louis XIII. "Monsieur de Sully," said this young prince to him, "I sent for you, as being one of the "chief ministers of the king my father, and a man "in whom he placed great confidence, to ask your "advice, and to confer with you upon some affairs "of importance." The duke of Sully seeing none but young courtiers about the king, who, to make their court to the constable de Luynes, ridiculed his dress and the gravity of his manners, made this answer: "Sire, I am too old to change my habits, "but for some good cause. When the late king "your father, of glorious memory, did me the "honour to send for me to confer with me upon "matters of importance, the first thing he did was

"to send away the buffoons." The young king seemed not to disapprove of this freedom: he ordered every one to withdraw, and remained alone with M. de Sully.

The most exact order, subordination, and peace, reigned throughout his numerous household: no person knew better how to make himself be served, respected, and obeyed, than the duke of Sully. The Catholics in his service saw no difference between his treatment of them and his Protestant domestics, except the great care he took to oblige the former to an exact performance of all the duties of good Roman Catholics. This was one effect of that esteem, and even inclination, which, in the course of these Memoirs, he has always shewn for the true religion, and which would probably have led him to embrace it, but for the considerations he there mentions. The misfortune was, that, being persuaded he could work out his salvation in either of the two religions, he was too much governed by his own delicacy, which would not suffer him to have the appearance of being swayed either by ambition or interest, in taking a resolution which would have gratified both in so high a degree. All his children, except the dutchess of Rohan, died in the bosom of the Roman Church.

The dutchess his wife, although brought up in the principles of the Roman Catholic religion, quitted it after the death of M. de Châteaupers her first husband, to marry the duke of Sully. The lords of Villebon had, in the church of that parish, which is a collegiate, a chapel on the side next the castle, which they caused to be demolished, and built in its place two galleries, of which the lower one was so inclosed, that those who were within could not be seen by the congregation; and the one above, to

which the ascent is by a little staircase of wood, is also obscured by a grate. It is publicly known, that the two dutchesses, of Sully and Rohan, came often into the lower gallery to hear the psalms during the canonical hours. They washed with their own hands all the linen that was used in the service of the altar. The present duke of Sully heard this circumstance from Catherine de la Porte, one of his ancestors. This lady, who lived a long time with the dutchess of Rohan, her aunt, heard from her an anecdote which no one at that time was ignorant of, namely, that the duke of Sully always gave a most gracious reception to the Capuchins that visited him, and had so great an esteem for them, that during his last sickness, and a few days before he died, he desired to confer with some of these religious; but that, when they presented themselves for that purpose upon the bridge of the castle, the dutchess of Sully gave orders that they should not be admitted, and threatened to have them thrown into the moat.

This lady employed her time in regulating the interior of her household; in having leases drawn out, and the accounts of the farmers and receivers given in; and always visited the several estates of her husband, when necessary. In her leisure hours she amused herself with working tapestry and embroidery with her ladies and maids of honour. The beauty and elegance of her work is still admired in some pieces of tapestry that remain in the possession of the duke of Sully, out of a great number which have been either lost or carried into other families.

The works of the duke of Sully are more durable. Besides all the other monuments of his liberality, of which we have had occasion to speak, he has

immortalised his memory by a great number of fine buildings in several parts of the kingdom, particularly in his government of Poitou. He would, if he had continued in the administration till his death, have procured all the roads in that province to have been made easy and commodious for travelling. It was he who caused that magnificent bridge and causeway to be built at Châtelleraut, which is still to be seen there.

There was scarce one of his estates, those especially which had castles on them, where he did not leave marks of his magnificence, to which he was chiefly incited by a principle of charity, and a regard to the public good. He built most part of the Hôtel Dieu of Nogent. This city and lordship, which was distinguished by the surname of Nogent le Rotrou, was by the prince of Condé's erecting it into a dutchy, called d'Enguien; but, when it came into the possession of the duke of Sully, it lost both these names, and was called the earldom of Nogent le Bethune. He at first designed to carry on very considerable buildings in the castle of this city, but he met with so many obstacles from the religious of St. Denis, that he was determined to turn all his views upon Villebon. Messieurs d'Estouteville, to whom that house had formerly belonged, had left it built only up to the first story: he raised it and completed it after the model of the Bastile, of which he was governor, but with more beauty. The front presents three sets of chambers, covered with slates between the towers. The towers have flat roofs, covered with lead, with pinnacles, and the battlements alternately round and pointed; the spouts are of the same metal with cast cannon, and the inner spouts which receive those of the corners of the house, are likewise of cast metal, eight feet

high, terminating in dolphins' heads. The grand staircase is extremely large and luminous. At the first story is a large room, with the beams and joints gilt; as likewise the chimney, which is of beautiful workmanship. The apartments are very numerous, and have their chimneys gilt, and the greatest part of their pannels. The park is enclosed with stone walls, and contains a great number of pools and reservoirs. The gardens, which join the house on three sides, the courts, and court-yards, are all the work of the duke of Sully.

To give employment to the poor, who offered themselves during a famine, and whom he thought it no real charity to support in idleness, he made a pond about seven hundred and twenty yards long, and a hundred and twenty broad. This he called Chapel Pond. The earth which was dug out, he threw up into four terraces parallel to the canal, which reach to the New Pond, another piece of water above the Chapel Pond. Between these terraces and the canal, were two levels of turf, which the present duke of Sully has cut into squares, grass plats, and bowling-greens. All those who offered were set to work indifferently, even to little children, some of whom did not carry, at a time, more than half a pound of earth: and for this purpose an infinite number of hand-carriages of all sizes had been provided. To each of these poor people was given in the morning a piece of bread; at dinner-time a dish of soup; and at supper-time another piece of bread; together with wages in money in proportion to their age and labour. This work, which the duke of Sully never would have undertaken merely for the decoration of his house, cost him four score thousand livres.

Every body knows that he built the castle of

Rosny completely, surrounded it with dry ditches extremely wide, where, when batteries were placed, the shot crossed each other in a surprising manner; a thing very rare at that time. He raised that fine terrace which runs across the sea to a prodigious extent, and those great gardens filled with groves, and grottos with water-works.

He embellished Sully with gardens, of which the plants are the finest in the world; and with a very long and broad canal, which is supplied with fresh water by the little river Sangle, which he turned that way, and which is afterwards lost in the Loire. He erected a machine to convey the water to all the basons and fountains, of which the gardens were full. The machine is yet in being; but the water-works have been suffered to go to ruin. With regard to the castle, he had it covered with slates: he wainscoted, painted, and gilt, almost all the apartments, and worked in the walls the galleries which pass from the little lodges at the gate, to the main castle. The court-yard, and a second court-yard, which was formerly called the Little Park, are likewise his work. There are, in this second court, several eminences, or enormous heaps of earth, which appear plainly to be the work of men. This expense, which produced no good, and of which the effect is even disagreeable, might surprise those who do not know that the duke of Sully had no other way of supporting a multitude of poor people, who demanded work in a time of scarcity. St. Ithier was anciently a little church, almost close to the castle: he removed it to the middle of a city, where he built, at his own cost, a very fine church covered with slate. I shall not mention several other works for which this city is obliged to him: among others, an hospital, which he founded there.

The principal apartment of this castle, is that which he fitted up in memory of Henry the Great, and which is called, for that reason, the king's apartment. He determined to leave another monument of his gratitude to this great prince, in the great hall of Sully. This hall, which, next to that of Montargis, is the largest in France, has a prospect of the Loire. Henry IV. is there painted, in a picture of the first size, upon a very fine sorrel horse. This is the most perfect, and the most like of all the pictures of that prince. It is hung over the chimney, which is uncommonly large, adorned with carved work, and covered, both on the front and sides, with squares of painting, containing each an emblem or a device relating either to the king or the duke of Sully. One of these pieces has something singular: it is in the front, where the sun is represented casting a weak and pale light, with the moon below it, shining with extraordinary brightness; and lower yet, the earth, which seems obscured by the great brightness of the moon. This is the only emblem that has no motto; and may be therefore supposed to contain something mysterious.

The duke of Sully likewise repaired and enlarged the castle of la Chapelle d'Angillon, built by mademoiselle d'Albert: he embellished it with gardens and terraces, and a park about two hundred and thirty acres, surrounded with stone walls, which, though strongly built, are now almost ruined by the negligence of his successors. Facing the meadow is a great terrace, remarkable for its height and length, all faced with hewn stone, with pilasters of brick and stone from space to space, which contributed at once to the strength and beauty of the work. At the foot of this terrace was a mean

church, which the duke of Sully pulled down and rebuilt, with great expense and magnificence, at the foot of the citadel of la Chapelle, of which he is considered not only as the lord, but as the founder.

The castle of Montigny is indebted to him, among other embellishments, for a fine avenue of trees; and, behind the house, a wall or kind of court, very agreeable, with four rows of elms.

To conclude, it was he that built, and cut in the rock, the famous castle of Montrond, which was long considered as impregnable. The way to it was by a very broad winding path, cut likewise in the rock; as were also the outworks of the palace, within which there was a well never dry, and sheltered against all violence from without. The prince, of Condé, as has been already shewn, obliged the duke of Sully to give him up Montrond, which, in the times of confusion, was his* principal fortress against the king, whose army was stopped by it eighteen months, and at last took it only by stratagem; after which the fortifications were blown up, and the place destroyed.

As the different characters of the duke of Sully which occur in various parts of the preceding Memoirs are all drawn by his countrymen, the following one, by sir George Carew, ambassadour to France

* Not his, but his son's; Henry prince of Condé, who obtained Montrond from Sully, and of whom such frequent mention has been made in the latter part of these Memoirs, died in 1646, five years after the duke of Sully, and was succeeded by his son Lewis. The times of confusion alluded to in the text were those after the accession of Louis XIV. Montrond was taken in 1652. Edit.

from James the First, written after his return to England in 1609, may not be considered altogether out of place here, or uninteresting to the reader. It is extracted from Carew's "Present State of France," first printed by Dr. Birch at the end of his "Negotiations."

"The duke of Sully, as himself told me, was born the 6th of January 1560, and by many is held to be of a Scottish extraction, of the family of the Betons, though he himself will not acknowledge it, but pretendeth to be descended from the lords of Bethune in Flanders. He hath been from his youth brought up with the king, and in thirty-three years never from him. Of his manners and fashions, I need not speak, having himself been so lately in England; but some resemble them to a great furnace, which, out of a strong and vigorous heat of understanding and courage, casts also a great smoke of vaunting and rigorous arrogancy. In his negotiating I have found him open, substantial, and ingenious, despising the affectation of seeming wise by petty subtilities, and close retiredness.

"Though he holdeth great offices, yet it seemeth the worth of his own person hath rather made his places great, than they have exalted him. His first greatness is said to have grown out of this occasion. The duke d'Espernon propounded, in council, a certain levy to be made upon the people of his government. Rosny being newly come to the place of intendant *des finances*, spake bitterly before d'Espernon's face against it, terming it a shameful proposition and a robbery; and withal tore the memorial, which d'Espernon had delivered concerning the same. That indignity exasperated d'Espernon so much, as reproaching Rosny's baseness and arrogancy, he

set his hand to his sword. Rosny answered with as great fierceness, and used the like demonstration of force, adding, that in their birth there was small odds; or, if there were any, it was on his side; and that when it pleased this king to do as much for him, as the last had done for d'Espernon, he should be every way his equal. The king hearing of this disorder, reproved d'Espernon, bidding him to gourmand his own valets, and not his officers. And that Rosny had answered him well, which he should see by effect, and thereupon promised to make Rosny duke and peer of France. Since that time, the king supported Sully in all his rough courses, which he hath taken for the encreasing the revenues of his crown, he hath found great profit thereby himself. But Sully hath thereby made himself extremely odious to great and small, and especially to the count Soissons, which happened in this sort. Sully delaying to make payment of a certain sum which the king had granted to the count, and the count's solicitor willing and pressing him to consider, that it was a prince of the blood whom he delayed; Sully made answer, It were well with the realm, if the king had no more cousins than he had brethren. Whereupon the count pretending to use forcible means to offend Sully, the king caused it to be notified, that whosoever should attempt Sully, should find the king's own person for his second; Since that time Sully hath ever been accompanied with troops of gentlemen, where before he made it his glory to be followed only with one servant and a couple of lacquies. But he ever carried out the matter bravely, and told myself once or twice, that the count threatened many, but hurt none; and in the end, both the count of Soissons, and duke

d'Espernon, are become his great and obsequious friends.

" When Sully came first to the managing of the revenues, he found (as he himself told me) all things out of order, full of robbery of officers, full of confusion, no treasure, no munition, no furniture for the king's houses, and the crown, indebted three hundred millions; that is, three millions of pounds sterling. Since that time, that in February 1608, he had acquitted one hundred and thirty millions of that debt, redeeming the most part of the revenues of the crown that were mortgaged; that he had brought good store of treasure into the Bastille, filled most of the arsenals with munition, furnished most of the king's houses with rich tapestry, and other moveables; and where the farms of the whole realm amounted then but to 8000001. sterling, this year 1609, he had let them out for 10000001. and that without exacting any more upon the people than was paid before, but only by reducing that to the king's coffers, which was embezzled by under-officers.

" Whether the prosecution of the Romish faction will at length remove him from the court, is somewhat doubtful. But if it should happen, I suppose it would prove for your majesty's advantage, and that king's detriment. For not only the affairs of the revenues, might perchance fall into disorders again; but the Protestants, both in that kingdom and abroad, would then fall into diffidence of the proceeding of that court, when the council should be altogether Romish (whereas now they suppose nothing will be propounded to their subversion all the while he is there) and seek to fortify themselves by new intelligences, and associations; the which

happening, must necessarily make them fall (in regard of foreign forces) to a dependance upon your majesty, and like enough would make them choose also a new head to depend upon in that realm, such as this king himself was in his predecessor's time. Besides he is ever hammering upon building a navy for the sea, which if he should effect, might prove an evil neighbour to your majesty's dominions. Again, upon colour of the project of the treaty, that was made at his being in England, he is more opposite to the paying your majesty's debt (stretching the same treaty beyond all reasonable construction, because he made it himself) than any other, who should come in his place, would be.

"Touching the Protestants of France, they have no great aid or support from him, but he is as harsh and rough to them, as to any others; and stoppeth little that supplanting of particulars which the king useth, but rather serveth among their body altogether for the king's ends. And touching his persisting so constantly in the profession of the reformed religion, many doubt, it proceedeth rather out of policy, than out of conscience, seeing his life is nothing answerable to his profession; but full of incontinency, of oppression, and rapine for his own particular, as well as for his master's profit. His speech is full of immodesty and filthiness, even at his own table publicly; a scoffer and contemner of all respects of justice, which terms he both used to myself, and, as I hear, to many others of that king's subjects, telling them, his master had placed him in his office to encrease his revenue, and not to deliver justice. But because that he doubteth, that upon the king's death, the count of Soissons, or other of his enemies might persecute him, as, after Philip le Bel's death, Enguerrand de Marigny, who had the like

power in France, and money matters, and the like opposition with great men, was persecuted by Charles de Valois, who ceased not, till he had caused En Juerrand, upon forged accusations, to be hanged in the place of the Greve at Paris; therefore for his own safety, it behoveth him so to carry himself in the mean time, as he may then shroud himself among the party of the religion. Besides, he knoweth the king's timorous and suspicious nature so well, and hath such a predominant genius over his, as he shall better maintain his reputation and power with him, in standing stiff upon his own terms, than in making demonstration of fear or yielding.

" But talking with de Sully of this point myself, he attributed this his constancy to his own natural resolution, saying, *Je ne demords jamais ce que j'ay une fois resolu pour bon.* One great difference I observe between the chancellor and Mons. de Sully, the first having many good words, and deeds nothing answerable; and the other's deeds are rather better than worse than his words. De Sully is not void of learning, both of knowledge of Latin, and other studies of humanity; but chiefly in arguing points of religion, wherein he is very ready and confident. But he most prizeth himself for his military ableness, being offended, when men ascribe the chiefest part of his sufficiency to the managing of the matters of the king's revenues and treasures. He hath sought heretofore, to fortify himself in court, by means of the queen and the house of Guise. But the chancellor growing more potent with the queen, he hath of late fallen in with the marquise of Verneuil to terms of friendship, from that bitter opposition, which was long between them. He hath also entertained intelligence long with the house of Guise; but their unthriftiness being like to ruin him, he by

degrees falleth off from them. By alliances he hath strengthened himself with the two houses of Rohan and Ventadour, where he hath placed two daughters, and his son is bestowed with Mons. de Crequy's daughter, who shall have all the wealth of Lesdiguieres, being very great. So that by that marriage, and his father's purchases, young Rosny is like to prove one of the chiefest subjects of France."

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV.

ONE would imagine, that upon a fact so public and so recent as the assassination of Henry IV. there would be found a perfect conformity in the histories and memoirs of that time; yet many of the cotemporary writers do not agree either as to the number of the persons who were in the coach with this prince when he was assassinated, the wounds he received, nor many other circumstances no less essential. In order therefore to make this recital in a manner equally faithful and complete, it is necessary to collect and join together what has been said on this subject by messieurs de Perefixe, Matthieu, l'Etoile, the continuator of de Thou, and the French Mercury for the year 1610.

"The night before this most unhappy day his "majesty could take no rest, and was in continual "uneasiness. In the morning he told those about "him, that he had not slept, and that he was very "much disordered. Thereupon M. de Vendome en- "treated his majesty to take care of himself that "day, and not to go out; for that day was fatal to "him. 'I see,' answered the king, 'that you "have consulted the almanac, and have heard of the "prediction of la Brosse, from my cousin the count "of Soissons; he is an old fool, and you, who are

" young, have still less wisdom.' The duke of Ven-
" dome then went to the queen, who likewise begged
" the king not to go out of the Louvre that day;
" but he made her the same answer." P. de l'Etoile.

" His majesty afterwards went to hear mass at the
" convent of the Barnardine monks, whither the in-
" famous parricide followed him with an intention
" to murder him; and, as he has since confessed,
" would have given him the stroke in the chapel, but
" M. de Vendome coming unexpectedly between, he
" was prevented." Ibid.

" It was observed, that the king was more fervent
" than usual in his devotions, and continued longer
" in prayer that very day than he was accustomed
" to do: even in the night preceding it, when his
" attendants thought he was asleep, he was upon his
" knees in bed at prayer; and, as soon as he rose,
" retiring to his closet for the same purpose, they,
" thinking he staid longer than usual, interrupting
" him, he was angry. 'Why will these men,' said he,
" always oppose what is for my good?" Ibid.

" After dinner the king lay down upon his bed, to
" try if he could sleep; but, not being able to rest,
" he got up again, pensive, melancholy, and dis-
" turbed. He walked a little about his chamber, and
" again threw himself upon his bed: still restless
" and unquiet, he rose and asked the exempt of the
" guard what hour of the day it was. The exempt
" told him the clock had struck four; and added,
" 'Sire, I perceive your majesty is pensive and uneasy:
" you would be better if you would take the air.'
" The king seemed pleased at this motion, and re-
" plied. " You have advised well: order my coach
" to be got ready; I will go to the Arsenal to see the
" duke of Sully, who is indisposed, and bathes to-
" day." Ibid.

Matthieu, recounting his discourse, both before and after dinner, adds, "He could not stay one moment "in any place, nor conceal his irresolution and dis- "order: and, in the midst of those agitations, he "said to the queen, 'I know not what to do; I have "no great inclination to go to the Arsenal, because "I shall put myself into a passion.' 'Do not go "then, sir,' said the queen: 'send some other "thither; you are now in a good humour, why "should you go to make yourself uneasy?' He "went towards the window, and striking his fore- "head with his hand, 'My God!' said he, 'there is "something here which strangely troubles me: I "know not what is the matter: I cannot go from "hence.' Ravaillac, hearing that he enquired if "his coach was ready, muttered to himself; *I have "thee; thou art lost.*" P. Matthieu.

"As he was going into his coach, M. de Vitry "approached, and asked his majesty if it was his "pleasure that he should attend him. 'No,' replied "the king; 'but go whither I have ordered you.' "'Permit me, Sire,' said Vitry, 'to send the guards "with your majesty.' 'No,' returned the king, 'I will "neither have you nor your guards: I will have "none about me.' Then entering his coach, and re- "flecting, as it is supposed, upon the fatal pre- "dictions of the day, which they had put into his "head, he asked what day of the month it was. "'Sire, said one, it is the 13th.' 'No,' said another, "'it is the 14th.' 'You are right,' said the king; "'you know your almanac better than he:' and "laughing, 'Between the 13th and 14th,' said he, "and then ordered the coach to go on." L'Etoile.

"He said to the coachman, Carry me but from "hence. When he came over against the Hôtel de "Longueville, he sent back all his attendants; and,

" being asked where the coach should go, he said to " the Croix du Tiroir; and, when there, he ordered " it to drive to the church-yard of St. Innocent. " Ravaillac staid a long time at the Louvre, sitting " upon the stones at the gate, where the footmen " wait for their masters. He designed to have given " the blow between the two gates, the place where " he stood affording him some advantage; but he " found the duke d'Epernon on that side where he " expected the king would have been." Matthieu.

This prince was seated on the back part of the coach, and unfortunately (the weather being very fine) would have all the curtains drawn up, that he might see, as he passed, the preparations which were making all over the city for the queen's public entry. On his right hand sat the duke d'Epernon: the marshals de Lavardin and Roquelaure were near the right boot of the coach; the duke of Montbazon and the marquis de La-Force on his left hand, and near the left boot, opposite to him, sat the marquis de Mirebeau, and du Plessis-Liancourt, his first master of the horse. Vitry, the captain of his guards, had, by the king's order, gone to the palace to hasten the preparations for the queen's entry, and had left all the guards at the Louvre; so that his majesty was attended only by a small number of gentlemen on horseback, and some of his footmen." Perefixe, Matthieu, l'Etoile, N. Rigault, ibid.

The coach turned from the street St. Honoré into that called Féronnerie, which was then very narrow, and made more so by the little shops erected against the wall of the church-yard of St. Innocent. A little embarrassment was occasioned by the meeting of two carts, one loaden with wine the other with hay; so that the coach was obliged to stop in a corner of the street, over against the study of a certain notary

whose name was Poutrain. The footmen took a nearer way, that they might with less difficulty come up with the coach at the end of the street: so that there were only two which followed the coach, and one of these went to make way for it to go on, while the other in the mean time took that opportunity to fasten his garter. Ibid.

Ravaillac, who had followed the coach from the Louvre, perceiving that it stopped, and that there was no person near it, advanced to that side where he observed the king sat. His cloak being wrapt round his left arm, served to conceal the knife, which he held in his hand; and sliding between the shops and the coach, as if he was attempting to pass by, like others, he supported one foot upon one of the spokes of the wheel, and the other upon a stone, and, drawing a knife edged on both sides, gave the king a wound a little above the heart, between the third and fourth rib. His majesty had just then turned towards the duke d'Epernon, and was reading a letter: or, as others say, leaning towards the marshal Lavardin, to whom he was whispering. Henry, feeling himself struck, cried out, "I am "wounded;" and in the same instant, the assassin perceiving that the point of his knife had been stopped by a rib, he repeated the blow with such quickness that not one of those who were in the coach had time to oppose, nor even to perceive it. Henry, by raising his arm, gave a fairer aim for the second blow, which, according to Perefixe and l'Etoile, went directly to his heart; and, according to Rigault and the French Mercury, near the auricle of the heart; so that the blood gushing out of his mouth, and from his wound, the unhappy prince expired, breathing a deep sigh; or, as Matthieu asserts, pronouncing, with a faint and dying voice, these

words; "It is nothing." The murderer aimed a third stroke at him, which the duke d'Epernon received in his sleeve. Ibid.

It is the opinion of the author of the French Mercury, that Henry IV. died at the first blow, "which, he says, "entering between the fifth and sixth rib, "pierced the vein within, round the auricle of the "heart, and reached to the vena cava, which being "cut, that great prince was in an instant deprived of "speech and life. The first stroke only grazed the "skin, and made no impression." French Mercury.

The writer who has given us the life of the duke d'Epernon, thinks, it must be confessed, in a manner very singular. He asserts, but without any proof to support his assertion, that the duke d'Epernon, who saw the second blow aimed at the king, raised his arm to parry it, and received it, in part, upon the sleeve of his coat, which was cut. He doubtless meant to exalt his hero by relating this circumstance; but certainly he judged ill to add, that the assassin, after this second blow, had time to strike a third, more dangerous than the second; and that the king received it full. Strange! that the duke d'Epernon should so plainly perceive the first of these blows, as to be able to parry it in part, from himself, and the rest who were in the coach, and yet could not prevent the following blow. The historian here has proved too much, and but that, happily for him, it is easy to convict him of his error, his account might well be turned into an accusation of the duke d'Epernon. Life of the Duke d'Epernon, part 2d, p. 238.

"It is a most amazing thing, that not one of the "lords, who were in the coach with the king, should "have seen the assassin give the blow; and, if that "infernal monster had thrown away his knife, they

" would not have known whom to charge with it: " but he still held it in his hand, as if to shew it, " and gloried in the greatest and most horrid of all " assassinations that ever was perpetrated." Perefixe says the same; and this conduct of Ravaillac is more conformable to the character we have of him, than what the continuator of de Thou relates: That it was the extreme agitation and disorder of his mind, which prevented his flying, or dropping the poniard. " He confessed," says Matthieu, " that he " struck his knife into the king's body, as into a " bottle of hay." L'Etoile, ibid.

" The six lords, who were in the coach, got out " immediately with such precipitation, that they " hindered each other from seizing the parricide. " One of them perceiving that the king spoke no " more, and that the blood came gushing from his " mouth, cried out, 'The king is dead!' These " words immediately occasioned a great tumult. The " people, who were in the streets, threw themselves " into the nearest shops, one upon another, with " such terror and dismay, as if the city had been " taken. The duke d'Epernon suddenly bethought " himself of saying, that the king was only wounded, " and had fallen into a swoon. They desired some " wine; and, while some of the inhabitants ran " eagerly to get it, they shut up the coach doors, " and told the people, that the king was only " wounded; and that they were carrying him in " haste to the Louvre to get his wound dressed." French Mercury. Ibid.

" I ran like one deprived of reason, and mounting " the first horse I found, galloped to the Louvre. " When I came to the Hotel de Longueville, I met " M. de Belancourt returning from the Louvre, who " said to me, 'He is dead.' I rode on as far as the

" rails, where the French and Swiss guards were " then placed: their pikes lowered. M. Le-Grand " and I got through, and ran to the king's closet, " and saw him extended on his bed. M. de Vic, " counsellor of state, was sitting by him on the same " bed, and had laid his cross of the order upon his " mouth, putting him in mind of God. Milon, his " first physician, was sitting near the bed-side " weeping, and the surgeons who attended to dress " his wound: but he was already dead. We fancied " we heard him sigh, but it was only wind; upon " which the first physician cried out, 'Ah! it is over: " he is gone!' M. Le Grand, as soon as he entered, " kneeled at the side of the bed, and held one of his " hands, which he kissed. As for me, I threw myself " at his feet, which I held embraced, weeping bit- " terly. M. de Guise came in also, and embraced " him," &c. Memoirs of Bassompierre, Vol. I. p. 297.

" The queen was in her closet when this sad news " was brought to her, and, wild with grief, came " out immediately to see him whom she honoured " most in the world, deprived of life; but the " chancellor, who was then in council, and had heard " the news there, going up to her apartment, met " her as she was coming out, and stopped her. 'Alas!' " said she, as soon as she saw him, 'the king is dead.' " He, without betraying any emotion, replied, 'Your " majesty must pardon me, the kings of France " never die." Then entreating her to return to her closet, " We must take care," said he to her, " that " our tears do not ruin our affairs: we must reserve " them for another time: we have need of remedies " and not of grief." French Mercury, ibid.

" At five o'clock in the evening it was no where " certainly known, except at the Louvre, that the

" king was dead, not even in the quarter de La-
" Féronnerie, where he was killed: they thought he
" had been wounded only. The report reached the
" Augustins before audience was over; the noise
" and confused murmurs of the persons who came
" into the court opposite to the hall of the great
" chamber, encreased every moment; and at length
" reached the ears of M. de Blancmesnil, second
" president of the great chamber, who was at that
" time hearing a cause pleaded in the hall; struck
" with this noise, he rose up as if to collect the
" opinions of the judges upon it: but, instead of
" speaking to them on this subject, he went back to
" the great chamber: the rest, persuaded that
" this noise was occasioned by some fatal accident,
" rose from their seats, and broke off the pleadings.
" Immediately they sent for the king's counsellors
" of parliament, and deputed them to the Louvre
" to know the state of affairs, and the will of his
" majesty: in the mean time, the princes, dukes,
" and great lords, who were at Paris, hastened to
" the Louvre to attend the king as usual. The
" sieur de Vitry was ordered to assemble all the
" deceased king's children in a chamber, particularly
" the young king; and to suffer no one to approach
" them. The dukes of Guise and Epernon were
" directed to get as many of the nobility as they
" could find, to mount their horses, and ride through
" the city; and tell the people, that the king was
" not dead, but only wounded. Le-Jay, lieutenant
" civil, and Sanguin, the lord mayor, had orders to
" shut all the city gates; to possess themselves of
" the keys: raise all their officers; and to prevent
" all commotions and mobs in the city. The guards
" which were in the suburbs received orders to
" come and post themselves upon the Pont Neuf, in

" the street Dauphiné, and near the Augustins, in " order to surround the parliament, and to force " them, if necessary, to declare the queen regent. " The king's counsellors of the parliament, return- " ing from the Louvre to the Arsenal, found the " first president there, who had been brought in a " chair, to whom, and to the chambers assembled, " having confirmed the report of the king's death, " they began to consult upon the request brought " them by the king's counsellors. M. de Guise and " M. d'Epernon came afterwards into the great " chamber, being sent by the queen to see what " was doing there," &c. L'Etoile, Perefixe, ibid.

" About nine o'clock the same night, a great " number of the lords rode through the city, and, as " they passed, said to the people, The king is com- " ing; he is well, God be thanked for it! It being " night, the people thought the king was in that " company, and cried aloud, *Vive le roi!* This cry " spreading from one quarter to another, the whole " city resounded with, *Vive le roi!* It was only in " the quarter of the Louvre, and that of the Au- " gustins, where the truth was known." Ibid.

" At night they drest the king's body, and washed " him with the same ceremony as if he had been " alive. M. du Maine gave him his shirt, M. le " Grand served him, and I likewise was ordered to " serve him, and to represent M. de Bouillon." M. Bassompierre, ibid.

" Saturday, May the 15th, the king's body was " opened in the presence of six and twenty physi- " cians and surgeons; all the parts of which were " found to be in so good a state, that, according to " the course of nature, they judged he might have " lived thirty years longer. His heart was small, " but thick, and of a close texture, and surprisingly

" sound: his stomach, as the physicians and surgeons " said, was the strongest that had been ever seen: " his lungs were grown a little to his left side." Bassompierre, ibid.

" His entrails were sent immediately to St. Denis, " without any pomp. The Jesuits demanded the " heart, which they interred in their chapel of la " Flèche; the body, embalmed and laid in a leaden " coffin, inclosed in another of wood, and covered " with cloth of gold, was placed under a canopy in " the king's chamber, with two altars on each side, " at which mass was said during eighteen days suc- " cessively, after which it was carried to St. Denis," &c. Perefixe, ibid.

See in the same historians several other interesting particulars, as well with respect to what passed in the parliament, and in different parts of Paris, as upon the funeral ceremony observed on this occasion. Upon this last article, consult also the royal MSS. vol. 9361.

The memoirs of that time afford a great number of observations, and curious particulars, relating to the assassination of Henry IV. which we cannot dispense with ourselves from annexing to these Memoirs. The number and diversity of them is all that perplexes us; for with respect to the persons who are concerned in them; namely, the Jesuits, the duke d'Epernon, and several of the principal lords of the kingdom, the marchioness de Verneuil, and the party supposed to be headed by her, the officers of the queen's household, and many others; these circumstances are so far from doing any injury to their memories, that it will be readily granted their interest requires that they should neither be suppressed or disguised; for, since all the malignity of their enemies have never been able

to prove one single fact against them, it necessarily follows, that what has been said was mere calumny, invented by wicked and designing persons.

One general remark, and which is equally applicable to all, is sufficient to prove what I have asserted, that those accusations were founded on calumny only; and this is, that Ravaillac never accused, or gave the least room for suspecting that any of those persons were concerned in the king's assassination. He constantly maintained, that no one was privy to his design, which he had conceived upon being told, that the king was going to make war upon the pope. He never varied from this declaration, and, when he was put to the torture, he said the same as he had done at his trial. The most dreadful pains could not force him to alter his deposition: he protested, and repeated this protestation upon the scaffold, that he never had either an accomplice or confidant. "When he was ready to "expire, he turned to his confessor, and desired he "would give him absolution; for he had no more "to say. This the priest refused, telling him, that "it was forbid to those who, like him, had been "guilty of high treason, unless he disclosed his ac-"complices." 'Give it me,' said Ravaillac, 'upon "condition that the declaration I have made, that I "had no accomplices, be true.' 'I will give it you "upon that condition,' replied the confessor; 'but "assure yourself, if you tell a lie in these moments, "your soul, at its separation from your body, will "be carried directly to hell.' 'I accept and receive "it upon that condition,' said Ravaillac. And these "were the last words he spoke to messieurs de Fil-"lesac and Gamache, two men of great candour and "honesty, and the most able doctors of the Sor-"bonne." Words which deserve great notice, since

they are recorded by him, who, of all the writers on this subject, has shewn most prejudice and malice. Memoirs for a History of France, page 323.

After this decisive remark I shall begin with what relates to the Jesuits, who have been less spared than any of the others, and whom our author, in his Memoirs, attacks the first, though he does not name them. But here I think myself obliged to relate what appears a very singular confession in a great critic, who professes that he does not fear the society, and will spare no one whatever. "I had "the curiosity," says he, "to read the answer made "by the Jesuits to the accusations of their enemies, "their reply to that, and the Jesuits' farther vindi- "cation of themselves; and it appeared to me, that "in many cases their accusers were at a loss, which "persuades me that many things have been charged "upon them for which there were no proofs, but "easily believed at the instigation of prejudiced "persons." In effect, there is nothing more solid, or better founded, in the declamations of Morizot, and a great number of anonymous writers. Bayle's Select Letters, vol. I. letter 230.

I shall now proceed to the examination of some words, attributed to a Jesuit in a conference with Ravaillac: *My friend, do not accuse good men.* "Father "Cotton went likewise to Ravaillac, and bid him "take care of accusing the innocent; words which "did not pass unnoticed. He afterwards would "have persuaded him, if he could, that he was a "Protestant, saying, that he could never believe "that a Roman Catholic was capable of committing "so horrid an action: but Ravaillac derided father "Cotton, though a Jesuit, as well as the rest, whom "he sent away with jests and pleasantry. 'You "would be astonished,' said he to some of them who "were questioning him, if I should tell you that it

" was you yourself who set me on." He did not " say this to father Cotton; for, wicked as he was, " he had some scruples of conscience remaining " that would not suffer him to slander the brothers " of the society." Journal of the Reign of Henry IV. anno 1610.

Peter Matthieu, in his particular History of the Death of Henry IV. p. 116, says, " That the queen, " believing, if the inhuman parricide could be led " to repent of his crime, he would more freely own " who they were that urged him to commit it, " thought it necessary that he should be visited by " the doctors and clergy, who might put his mind " into such a frame, that he would have greater " fears of eternal than temporal torments." Father Cotton therefore might be of the number of these ecclesiastics; but the author does not mention him in particular, and is wholly silent with respect to the words which have been attributed to him. He does not tell us that this father, when he accosted Ravaillac, called him *my friend.* The prior of Orleans says not a word of this fact in his Life of Father Cotton, where it was natural for him to mention it, and where he has been as particular, with respect to this father, as Matthieu has been in every thing relating to the death of Henry the Great.

" Two circumstances," says Mezerai, " were ob- " served, of which the reader may judge as he " pleases; one was, that, when Ravaillac was seized, " seven or eight men came up to him with swords " in their hands, and said loudly that he ought to " be slain directly; but they immediately concealed " themselves in the crowd: the other, that the pa- " ricide was not carried to prison at first, but was " put into the hands of Montigny, and remained " two days in the Hôtel de Rais, where he was so " carelessly guarded, that all sorts of people were

" allowed to speak to him: among others, an eccle-
" siastic who had received great obligations from
" the deceased king, accosted him, called him
"*friend*, and bid him take care not to accuse good
" men." Mezerai, it is plain, has copied the first of these observations from P. Matthieu, who says that it was the baron de Courtaumar, who, drawing his sword against these men, forced them to shelter themselves in the crowd: but I do not see what inference is to be drawn from the former of these two facts related by Mezerai, except that those men, transported with rage and grief for the death of the best of kings, were eager to punish the impious assassin; and as for the other fact, after what has been just said in the foregoing remark, it must be allowed to be very doubtful and hazardous, upon a supposition, that by the ecclesiastic, who had great obligations to the king, the author means father Cotton: but indeed, if this father did go to see Ravaillac, and if he really said those words, *My friend, do not accuse good men*, what ought to be inferred from an expression of gentleness and Christian charity, which neither directly nor indirectly presents any thing criminal to the mind? Abr. Hist. and Chron. vol. III. p. 1450.

Here follows, what is still, in different writings, to be found against the Jesuits on this occasion: " Father d'Aubigny, who had confessed Ravaillac, " was privately interrogated by the first president " upon the secret confession, but he could draw " nothing from him except this: That God, who to " some men had given the gift of languages, to " others the gift of prophecy, revelation, &c. had " on him bestowed the gift of forgetfulness of con- " fessions. Moreover, added he, we, who are ec- " clesiastics, know nothing of the world; we do not " mix in its affairs, nor heed what passes in it."

"Rather," replied the first president, "you know "too much, and are too far concerned in its busi- "ness; and, if you were not more so than you own "you are, things had gone better." Memoirs for a History of France, ib. p. 320, 321.

These last circumstances relating to father d'Aubigny, are certainly the most severe of all that have been urged against the Jesuits. It was well known, that Ravaillac, in his depositions, acknowledged that he was acquainted with this Jesuit; that he had been present when he said mass; that he had imparted to him his visions, the trouble of his mind, &c. He was confronted with this father, who maintained to Ravaillac himself, that he had never seen him, and that all he had said concerning him was false. The French Mercury, far more deserving to be credited than any of the writers I have quoted, because the author speaks so fully and with so much clearness of this affair, that one sees, in a manner, the whole proceedings of the trial; he, after giving a minute account of every circumstance of their examination, adds, "Father d'Aubigny said to Ra- "vaillac, that he was very wicked; and that, after "perpetrating so horrid a fact, he ought not to ac- "cuse any one falsely, nor add to the number of his "sins. Ravaillac being told, that, if he had any "charge to bring against father d'Aubigny, he must "do it then, replied, that he had not any; that he "looked upon him to be an honest man, and a good "priest; and that he would believe him. In like "manner the said d'Aubigny having notice given "him to make his objections against the witness, "and that according to the ordinance, he would not "be admitted to make them, if not immediately, "he said he had no more to say, but that he was a "wicked man, and a most audacious liar." French Mercury, anno 1610.

Ravaillac's silence to these reproaches may well pass for a conviction of the calumny. This circumstance of the trial may be seen at large in the book itself. Matthieu says it was Servin, the king's advocate, who interrogated father d'Aubigny, and that this was the answer: "That ever since he had, by "the orders of his superiors, quitted preaching to "apply himself wholly to hearing confessions, God "had bestowed the singular grace upon him of ef-"facing immediately from his memory whatever "was said to him under the seal of confession." But this writer, though an enemy to the Jesuits, does not mention the first president's malicious reply to him; and doubtless he is more deserving of belief, than the Memoirs for the History of France; because he was living at that time, and was most particularly interested in the memory of Henry IV. who had honoured him with his favour. Pasquier, the great enemy of the Jesuits, by not accusing them of any thing, shews plainly enough, that he believed them innocent. History of Henry IV. ib. Letters of Nicholas Pasquier.

"On Sunday, May 23, father Portugais, a Corde-"lier, and some curates of Paris; among others, "the curates of the parishes of St. Bartholomew and "St. Paul, in dark ambiguous words, and hints "scarcely intelligible, taxed the Jesuits with being "accomplices in the king's assassination, arguing "against them from their own books and writings; "namely, those of Mariana and Becanus. It was "also proposed," says the same author whom I now quote, "to forbid the Jesuits the public pulpits. "However, they went no farther than to order Ma-"riana's book to be burnt by the hands of the com-"mon hangman, which was done accordingly, "June 8, before the church of Notre Dame. This

" book openly defended the deed of brother Clé-
" ment, and has been twice printed; the first time
" in folio, the second in octavo. In the first edition,
" he calls this brother, *æternum Galliæ decus;* but
" these three words are left out in the second edi-
" tion, which I have before me." Memoirs for the History of France, ib. p. 325.

If all the authors who have written upon the same principles with those of Mariana and Becanus were to be accused of having contributed to the king's murder, " a criminal process might be entered
" against John Petit, a doctor of the Sorbonne,
" whose opinions were rejected by the council of
" Constance; likewise against the celebrated John
" Gerson, James Almain, Richer, John Boucher of
" the same college and society. Can they be igno-
" rant that an extraordinary assembly was held
" among the doctors of the Sorbonne, to proceed to
" the apotheosis of James Clément, the assassinator
" of Henry III. and that, among that great number
" of doctors which composed the assembly, only
" one, named John Poitevin, was against it? In
" those miserable times, a furious hatred and mis-
" guided zeal extinguished the natural lights of rea-
" son; and however revolting that doctrine might
" be, which teaches that it is sometimes lawful to
" murder kings, however opposite to Scripture and
" reason, yet, to the shame of humanity, and the
" disgrace of religion, that doctrine prevailed. Ma-
" riana, a Spanish Jesuit, in a book entitled De Rege
" et Regis Institutione, held, in effect, that it was
" sometimes allowable to murder tyrants, though
" elsewhere he teaches, that a lawful prince cannot
" be killed, or deprived of his authority by an indi-
" vidual. The enemies of the Jesuits advance, that
" it was from this book that Ravaillac had taken his

" first lesson, which he practised but too well. It " is certain, however, that he never read the book, " knew nothing of it, and did not understand Latin " well enough to read it: but these reasonings are " the effects of passion and prejudice. Father " Aquaviva, to hinder the rashness of some writers " from raising such calumnies against the Jesuits " for the future, on the 8th of July forbad all the " subjects of the society, upon pain of being excom- " municated and suspended from exercising any of " the sacred functions, to speak or write any thing " which could authorise, in any manner, or under " any pretence, the parricide of kings, whom, by the " law of God, says he, we are commanded to honour " and respect, as sacred persons placed by his hands " upon the throne." Chronol. and Dogm. vol. I. p. 115, and following.

What is here said of Mariana may with equal justice be applied to Becanus; but, among all these accusations, I see only one in which there is any probability; which is that drawn from the book of this Spanish Jesuit, condemned by the parliament as being capable of arming subjects against their sovereign; but in reality what ought to be inferred from thence to the prejudice of the French Jesuits? what proofs could a book furnish against them, which was written by a foreigner, and in the year 1606 publicly condemned as a most pernicious piece, and even rejected by the Jesuits themselves?

" The queen, who was desirous that father Cotton " and the abbé du Bois, the declared enemy of that " father, and the whole society, should be reconciled, " permitted him to have a conference with that " abbé, which lasted four hours, at the house of the " lieutenant-civil; but, not being able to agree, " father Cotton, to take him at some disadvantage,

" at length asked him if he thought the Jesuits had " been the cause of the late king's assassination, " and if he believed that he had killed him. 'No,' " replied the abbé du Bois, 'for, if I thought so, I " would this instant,' said he, swearing a great oath, " 'hoist you up by the throat and strangle you, " and then throw you out of the window.' Father " Cotton afterwards asked him if the Jesuits were " not Catholics. 'Oh yes,' answered he, 'such " Catholics as the devil is.' " Journal of the Reign of Henry IV. by P. l'Etoile, p. 233.

" On Tuesday, May 25, there was a quarrel be- " twixt M. de Loménie and father Cotton, in full " council. Loménie told him, that it was he and " his secretary who had murdered the king, where- " upon, the members of the council representing to " him that he ought to be more moderate in his ex- " pressions, he said, that his grief for the death of " his good master might force him into some in- " temperance of language, but that he spoke only " in the queen's presence. At the same time " Beringhen quarrelled with De-Lorme, first phy- " sician to the queen, who supported the Jesuits, " and said things as severe to him as Loménie had " done to father Cotton." Ibid, p. 260.

Is it surprising that persons under the influence of passion, and in those moments when they suffer themselves to be carried away by their conjectures, prejudices, and particular enmities, should utter invectives, and make reproaches which they cannot prove? At such times they often say things which they do not believe, and which, when their reason is less clouded, they inwardly disavow.

John du Bois, abbé of Beaulieu, being a short time after obliged to quit the kingdom, was arrested at Rome, and put into the prisons of the inquisition,

either at the suit of the Jesuits or of the procurator-general of the Celestin monks; for he had formerly been of that order, and quitted it without giving an account of the money which had been deposited in his hands. He had afterwards borne arms and distinguished himself in the service of Henry III. who used to call him the emperor of the monks: after that, he resumed the ecclesiastic habit, and was celebrated for his preaching. Whatever was the cause, he was detained in those prisons till 1626, in which year he died, a few days after he was restored to his liberty by pope Gregory XV. Memoirs for a History of France, French Mercury, and Moreri.

In l'Etoile, la Varenne makes a very singular speech to the Jesuits at his return from la Fléche, whither he had accompanied them in the ceremony of bearing the king's heart to their chapel. Having entertained them all, to the number of twenty-four, at dinner, he continued his discourse to them (the former part of which had been pretty severe) in this manner: "I will not scruple to tell you," said he, "that there is a very bad report concerning you "circulated in this city, which has come to my ears; "that there are among you some who were abettors "of, and accomplices in, the wicked assassination "of the deceased king. Hitherto I have not be-"lieved it; but, if I should ever happen to discover "any thing against you, I declare that I will have "you all seized, and hang you, one after the other, "in my stables." Such was la Varenne's harangue to the Jesuits; but it was time, say they, to shut the stable-door when the steed was stolen. Ibid. p. 176.

As this speech of la Varenne is not mentioned in any of the best authors of his time, there is good

reason to think it one of those idle and ridiculous tales fit to amuse the populace, and gratify the malice and prejudice of an enemy who finds reason and probability in every thing that is conformable to his passion.

The same author, speaking of the provost-marshal of Pluviers, says, that he had two sons who were both Jesuits, and endeavours to prove that they were accessory to the king's assassination; but it is evident that nothing could be more unjust than the reasonings of this writer, or more false than his conclusions, with respect to the provost of Pluviers: for why indeed should it be asserted, that the Jesuits were in a combination with that provost, because he had two sons in the society? It would not follow from thence that they had contributed to Ravaillac's crime, unless it could be proved, which it is impossible to do, that the provost hanged himself through his fear of falling into the hands of justice, for having, in concert with the Jesuits, endeavoured to inspire Ravaillac with a resolution to complete his horrid design: but this base calumny is refuted by the French Mercury, which, after observing that all that had been said against the Jesuits had been taken from l'Anticotton, the Thanks of the Butter-woman, and such-like writings, says, "They ought "surely, to agree in their satires, since they "all proceed from the same mouth. Of these "two books, the first was not printed till the middle "of September, and the other towards the end of "October; and it was always thought that this pro-"vost hanged himself because instruments for coin-"ing had been found upon him, he having practised "the art of coining, and been guilty of other crimes "in his office, for which he knew he could not avoid "death; and not for the above-mentioned accusa-

" tion, which was raised against him at the instiga-
" tion of his enemies." French Mercury, anno 1610.

That very observation, that nothing was alleged against the Jesuits, at that time, which was not taken from the most contemptible libels, is alone a sufficient answer to all other calumnies of that nature; and after some words which escaped one of the most furious enemies this society ever had, it ought no longer to be doubted. The Anti-jesuit, says he, appeared about that time, and, except low abuse, it will be found to contain nothing. The author was a young man named Bonestat. The factor of Guillemot was imprisoned for it. The Catholicon of Saumur appeared likewise; a work made up of bad and good. Letter, ibid.

La Barilliere, who is a free-speaker, meeting two Jesuits some days after the king's assassination, " Gentlemen," said he, " I think you are Jesuits:
" there is a merchant of Châtelleraut who has
" very good knives to sell; perhaps you may find
" some that will suit you." This is not a proof, but a witticism, which pleases not on account of the truth there is in it, but for its malicious and satirical turn. Memoirs for a History of France, ib. 353.

" Divray, a clerk of the court, told one of my
" friends the next day, that as they were conducting
" mademoiselle Coman, the same who has been
" formerly mentioned, before the council, she said
" to him; ' I revealed to the Jesuits, in confession,
" all I knew of this conspiracy, and they entreated
" me not to mention it.' Certainly the Jesuits were greatly concerned in what this girl alleged: how comes it then that the writers of those times, who have been so particular in their relations, have taken no notice of this circumstance? Ibid. p. 358.

Nor is it less easy to refute the following citations

against the several persons we have named; indeed they carry their refutation along with them, by comprehending, in the same accusation, persons who were not only without connection of friendship or interest, but were declared enemies, and publicly known to be such: I mean the queen and the marchioness de Verneuil, and their partizans: for the same reason, therefore, we think ourselves dispensed with from joining to each quotation reflections which would greatly swell these Observations, and which must necessarily occur to every judicious reader.

"The Sunday before the Friday on which the "king was murdered, being the 9th of May, this "soldier, a wicked, lewd fellow, and who, (says the "author a few lines above), had formerly been a "priest, met the widow of captain St. Matthieu, a "Huguenot, a little beyond the gate St. Antony, on "the road from Charenton, and knowing her, he "accosted her, and, after some discourse, asked her "if she still lived at Paris. She told him she did. "'And what are you doing there so long?' said the "soldier. 'Doing?' she replied, 'I have a great deal "of business to transact.' 'Faith,' returned he, 'if "I was in your place, no law-suit or business what-"ever should keep me there; and it is because I "wish you well that I advise you to get out of "Paris.' 'But why do you wish me out of Paris?' "said she. 'Because,' resumed the soldier, 'before "eight days are past, it is in danger of suffering so "great a disaster, that happy will it be for them "who are at a distance from it. I therefore advise "you, as a friend, to quit Paris as soon as possible, "and believe what I say to you.' When they "came to the entry of the church, where the ser-"mon was not yet begun, the soldier said he would "not hear the sermon 'But,' said he, laughing,

" 'I will go and examine the disposition of your " guards, who are a multitude of poor miserable " wretches, ranged on each side like two hedges.' " Then looking at them, 'Behold those lame strag- " glers,' said he to this woman, 'which we are accus- " tomed to see in Paris at the entrance of our " churches; do you not observe those soldiers who " are amongst them? I know them every one; they " are all robbers; four of them in particular, whom " I see there, are destined for four terrible exploits: " but the wickedest, and most determined of them " all, I do not see.' Saying this, he took leave of " the woman, and went away. Upon the Fri- " day following, when the king was assassinated, " she began to reflect upon what the soldier had " said to her, and the Sunday after, being in doubt " whether she ought to go to Charenton, hearing " that others had set the example, she resolved to " follow it, and upon the road again met the soldier, " to whom, in great surprise, she said, 'I think you " are a prophet; I shall believe you another time: " but I hope we shall suffer no more.' 'This is " nothing yet,' said the soldier; 'all is not over; " there are other strokes to follow this, equally " wicked, and much more dangerous; and, since " you are resolved to believe me for the future, " take my counsel, and leave your abode as soon as " possible.'

" Upon giving immediate information of this dis- " course to the ministers of the church, among others " to M. Durand, he procured her, by means of one " of his friends, access to M. Defunctis, who having " heard what she had to say, and got intelligence " from her where this soldier dwelt, and at what " hour he might be spoke with, he went to his lodg-

" ings at ten o'clock at night, and seizing him with-
" out any difficulty, lodged him in a place of secu-
" rity. The great probability there was in this
" story made many persons hope that at length
" there would be a full discovery of this deplored
" and most abominable enterprise, if the vile me-
" thods of proceeding used in the affair, had not
" destroyed all the good effects that might have
" been expected from the discoveries already made;
" but such was the conduct observed in it, that one
" would imagine we were afraid of shewing our-
" selves too severe and exact, in searching into a
" crime the most barbarous and most wicked that
" has ever been perpetrated in Europe for upwards
" of a thousand years." L'Etoile's Journal, page 150, and following.

" Tuesday, May 18, the court being assembled,
" deliberated upon the forms and proceedings to be
" used in the trial and condemnation of that most
" detestable parricide, and assassin of his king, Fran-
" cis Ravaillac; but it was more especially consi-
" dered in this assembly what tortures should be
" used to extort a confession from this miserable
" wretch It was resolved that he should be put to
" extraordinary tortures, and those of the most cruel
" kind, even foreign ones were proposed, and,
" among others, that of Geneva, which was called
" the *barathe*, or *beurriere*, a torture so violent, that
" it is said none on whom it was tried, but was
" forced by it to confess. Upon this the opinions
" of the assembly were divided; the oldest and the
" best approved of its being tried, the others wa-
" vering between both, and apt to change their
" opinions every moment, resolved upon nothing;
" therefore most of those who were only determined

" by gain, having given their votes, *in mitiorem (seu* " *deteriorem)* carried the vote that day by a great " majority." Ibid. p. 154.

" According to the said arrêt, he was put to the " torture in order to oblige him to reveal his ac- " complices: what passed is still a secret to all but " the court." French Mercury, anno 1610, fol. 454.

" A certain infamous fellow, having publicly " railed at the deceased king, and praised Ravaillac, " saying that he had performed a noble act, was " seized and brought prisoner to Paris. The infor- " mations against him, as those against Maçon, were " laid before the chancellor, but have still remained " a secret; nor has there been any mention made " of bringing them to justice." Memoirs for the " History of France, Vol. II. p. 324.

" When the assassin was brought to the place of " punishment, and upon the point of being torn in " pieces by the horses, observing that a certain " man, who was near the scaffold, had alighted from " his horse to put it in the place of one which had " been tired with dragging him: 'They deceived " me,' said he, 'when they told me, that the action " I was going to commit would be pleasing to the " people, since they themselves furnish horses to " tear me in pieces.' A proof, (adds the author in " the margin), that he had been incited by some " persons to commit that execrable fact, and that " he had accomplices." Ib. p. 322.

Here follows what relates to the provost of Pluviers: " The provost of Pluviers, or Pétiviers, a city " in Beauce, distant about two days journey from " Paris, was accused of having said, the same day " that the king was murdered; *this day the king* " *is either slain or wounded.* Being brought pri-

" soner to Paris, he was found dead in the prison, " strangled with the strings of his drawers. He " was hanged by the feet in the Gréve, on the 19th " of June." French Mercury, anno 1610.

L'Etoile, after relating the same fact, adds the following circumstances: " This infamous man, " whose wickedness was publicly known, and who " had two sons of the order of the Jesuits, *quod no-* " *tandum*, acknowledged by every one to be a very " bad subject to the king, but a good servant to the " family of Entragues and the marchioness de Ver- " neuil, and known to be a rogue and extortioner, " was accused of having said, in Pluviers, while he " was playing, or looking upon others who were " playing, at bowls, in a garden, at the very time " the king was murdered, *The king is just now mur-* " *dered; he is dead, depend upon it;* and, some days " before, he had used words to the same purpose, or " very near it, which were not taken notice of till the " thing happened, which made them believe that " the old villain knew something of the enterprise, " and was one of the accomplices of that vile assas- " sin: so that, being carefully watched, and eagerly " pursued, he was at length taken and brought to " Paris, where he was confined in the Conciergerie " du Palais, where, a short time afterwards, to their " great astonishment, they found him dead, being " strangled with the strings of his drawers. The " parliament had him tried, though dead, and found " him guilty of the crime of high treason; but, " after all, *dead men tell no tales*, which was what " they wanted; for, if he had spoke, he might have " said too much for the honour and advantage of " many persons whom they had no inclination to " hurt. This was what was believed by all the peo- " ple about Pluviers, who used to exclaim, *Good*

" *God, how fortunate is the death of this wicked man* " *for M. d'Entragues, the marchioness de Verneuil* " *his daughter, and the whole family.* Upon this mise- " rable wretch was found a tool and an instrument " made use of in coining, called a mold. It was " said, that he had been guilty of that practice; " but this instrument was found to be a tool for " breaking iron gates, and bars of iron, even of the " largest size, like those in the Bastile, in order to " get the count d'Auvergne from thence." Journal of the Reign of Henry IV. page 183.

" The queen sent for Durat the physician, a man " whom the king detested, and would never suffer " in his presence, and even forbid the queen to em- " ploy; she, however, retained him for her phy- " sician, made him one of her council, with large " appointments, and all to oblige Conchini, who, it " was said, bore with great fortitude the death of " the king." In the margin it is written, " The pub- " lic were persuaded, that his wife and he had greatly " contributed to the king's assassination." Memoirs for the History of France, Vol. II. p. 309.

" On Sunday, January the 30th, the marchioness " de Verneuil was, upon the depositions of made- " moiselle Coman, interrogated by the first pre- " sident at his house. Her examination lasted from " one o'clock in the afternoon till five. She is thus " called, Henrietta de Balzac d'Entragues, mar- " chioness de Verneuil, mistress to king Henry IV. " She was accused by La-Coman; yet was decreed " to be heard but once, although the affair was the " king's assassination, and the crime high treason." Ib. p. 358.

" The next day the queen sent a gentleman to " the first president, to desire he would send her " his opinion concerning this process, to whom the

" good man replied, You may tell the queen, that " God has reserved me to live in an age to see and " hear things so strange, as I never thought I could " have heard or seen." One of his friends and " mine saying to him, that it was almost the gene- " ral opinion that this young woman, by her accus- " ing so many persons, and of the highest rank in " the kingdom, spoke at random, and without any " proofs; the first president, raising his eyes to " heaven, and shrugging up his shoulders, replied, " There are but too many, there are but too many." Ibid.

" Monsieur d'Epernon at the same time, who was " most interested in this affair, and who eagerly " pushed on the process against this girl, that she " might be put to death, went generally for that " purpose to the council, and made a visit to the " first president to hear what had passed; but that " gentleman, with his accustomed gravity, and aspe- " rity of countenance, which those especially whom " he did not like, were sure to meet with from him, " repulsed him disdainfully, saying, ' I am not your " news-monger, but your judge.' The duke telling " him, that he asked him as a friend, ' I have no " friends, replied the president; I will do you jus- " tice: be satisfied with that.' M. d'Epernon re- " turning in great discontent, went and complained " to the queen, who immediately dispatched a mes- " senger to the first president, to tell him that she " had been informed, he had treated the duke " d'Epernon ill, and that it was her desire he should " for the future, behave with more respect to him, " in consideration of his high quality. To this, the " first president replied: ' I have been a judge fifty " years, thirty of which I have had the honour to " preside in the sovereign court of the peers of this

" kingdom, and, during that time, I never saw any " lord, duke, or peer, of what quality soever, who was " accused of high treason, who came before his " judges booted and spurred, as M. d'Epernon has " done, and with his sword by his side. Do not fail to " tell the queen this.' This was a freedom becoming " a first president. I should not record this speech " of his here, if I did not certainly know it to be " true."

" If it be asked," says M. de Perefixe, " who were " the furies, the fiends, that suggested to him so " damnable a design, and urged him to carry it into " execution, history replies, that it is ignorant, and " that, upon an action of such consequence, it is not " allowable to give suspicions and conjectures for " certain truths; the judges themselves, who inter- " rogated the criminal, durst not open their mouths, " and never mentioned it but with gestures of horror " and astonishment." Perefixe's History of Henry the Great, Part III. p. 410.

The continuator of de Thou's Latin History says, that two different opinions prevailed upon this subject; some were persuaded that the assassination of Henry IV. was the work of some great lords of the kingdom, who sacrificed this prince to their ancient resentment; others believed that it was Spain who struck this blow by the partizans she had in France: and this writer adds, that the president de Thou, and the ablest heads in the parliament, were of this latter opinion. He likewise mentions letters from Brussels, Antwerp, Malines, and Bolduc, before the 15th of May, which expressed that it was commonly reported in those provinces, that Henry IV. had been murdered. Nic. Rigalt, anno 1610. vol. VI. p. 492.

That passage from l'Etoile, which I quoted a

little before, may, if granted to be of any authority, give room for a third opinion: namely, that this plot, or rather all these different plots, were to end in a rebellion, and even a kind of second massacre in Paris; and that this was not executed, because the conspirators seeing the king dead, which was the great and principal object they had in view, thought it needless to proceed any farther.

And here I cannot dispense with myself from mentioning some writings, which may be found in the fourth volume of l'Etoile's Journal, lately printed under the title of Pièces Justificatives. Some of them relate to the affair and process of mademoiselle Coman. They add nothing, or very little, to what has been already said. The others are,

First, a manuscript which the author pretends had been found in the cabinet of the duke d'Aumale (Charles de Lorrain, second son of Claude) who died in the Low Countries in the year 1631. In this manuscript, which heavily charges the Jesuits and the count d'Auvergne, although in prison at the time, it is related, that the duke d'Epernon who was in the coach with his majesty, seeing him wounded to death (these are his words) "stabbed "him in the side with a knife, that he might be "sooner out of pain. The duke of Montbazon," adds he, "saw the duke d'Epernon stab the king, but "did not take any notice of it, because he favoured "this assassination."

The second of these pieces is entitled, The Meeting between the duke d'Epernon and Francis Ravaillac. It is there asserted, that this duke, being at Angoulême, sent for Ravaillac and two other accomplices of his, and he and father Cotton exhorted them to poniard the king, giving for a reason, that

this prince was an enemy to the Pope, the king of Spain, and the Catholic religion, which he was going to abolish in Europe; and that, after they had made them swear to perform this, receiving the communion upon it from father Cotton, they gave them each two hundred crowns. The assassins then took the road to Paris, where having staid a long time without meeting with an opportunity for executing their enterprize, they obliged d'Epernon to give each of them a hundred crowns more; that, when the moment for perpetrating the parricide approached, the duke d'Epernon, as he had agreed upon beforehand with Ravaillac, amused the king with some discourse, and then the horrid villain, throwing himself upon the king, gave him a wound with a knife; but the said duke perceiving that it was very slight, and that the king cried out, I am wounded, he made a sign to him to repeat the stroke, whereupon this execrable wretch, with a second blow, struck the king to the heart, so that he expired immediately. All these imputations to be found only in contemptible libels, deserve less that we should shew their falsehood and inconsistency than the former. See Pasquier's letter to M. de Monac, in which he justifies the duke d'Epernon.

The other pieces relate to the story of Peter Du-Jardin, known by the name of captain de La-Garde, of whom we have already had occasion to speak. From these we learn, that Du-Jardin was a native of Rouen; he served at first in the regiment of guards, afterwards in the light horse: he then went to Provence, where he was employed by the duke of Guise in his majesty's service. Marshal Biron knew him when he served in the light horse, and attached him to himself on account of his great bravery. After

the peace of Savoy, he went into the service of the republic of Venice, where he continued till she made peace with the Pope. He then went to serve in Germany under the duke de Mercœur. He again returned to Venice, from whence, after a short stay at Florence and Rome, he came to Naples. In this city he became acquainted with a refugee, named La-Bruyere, who had been a leaguer: by him he was introduced to a Jesuit, called father Alagon, uncle to the duke of Lerma, the king of Spain's favourite. This Jesuit, being desirous to make use of so brave a man in the design that was projected of assassinating Henry IV. joined him with Hebert, marshal Biron's secretary, who has been mentioned in our Memoirs, with Lewis d'Aix, mentioned likewise in the account of the reduction of Marseilles, and with another Provençal, called Roux, all of them French refugees.

In one of their parties of pleasure Ravaillac was introduced to them, who disclosed to them all his designs, and told them that he brought a letter from the duke d'Epernon for the viceroy of Naples. La-Garde, having now got sufficient intelligence of every thing that was projecting, went to Zamet, ambassador from France to Venice, to discover all he knew. This ambassador sent him immediately to M. de Breves, our ambassador at Rome, and to Zamet his brother, at Paris. De Breves gave La-Garde letters for M. de Villeroi, with which he returned to Paris in the train of the duke of Nevers, who at Fontainebleau presented him to his majesty. Henry IV. after telling him that he would take proper measures to render these designs upon his person ineffectual, ordered this officer to accompany the grand marshal of Poland into Germany, and to take

care of his interests there. La-Garde, returning to France with advices of great importance from the grand marshal of Poland, was at Francfort informed of the king's death. He retired to Metz greatly indisposed, from whence he followed marshal de La-Chatre to the expedition of Juliers. After the peace, as he was upon his journey to France he was attacked near the village of Fize by some armed men, who gave him several wounds, and left him for dead in a ditch. La-Garde made shift to get to Mezieres, where the duke of Nevers then was, who caused him to be conducted to Paris, where, upon presenting a petition to the king, he obtained the office of comptroller-general of Bierres; but, when he least expected such treatment, he was seized and carried to prison. Before judgment was pronounced, which could not but be favourable because his judges found him absolutely innocent of every thing charged upon him, an exempt came to take him out of prison, and delivered him a brevet for a yearly pension of six hundred livres, and his patent for the office of comptroller-general of Bierres. It appears that he retired to Rouen, and died there.

Another writer of still later date, who has restored the five interrogatories of Ravaillac, in the volume of manuscripts marked 192, of the king's library (for the French Mercury mentions only the four last, which are abridged and related in an historical manner, and says not a word of the first) believes that in them may be found proofs that the criminal endeavoured to impose upon his judges, and did not make a full confession; and that his judges, on their side, seemed to be afraid of asking him how he came to be known to the duke d'Epernon. He has not the least doubt of Ravaillac's having been in

Italy, although he constantly denied it. The pieces relating to the processes of La-Coman, and captain de La-Garde, seem to him to prove very clearly, that the plot of the parricide was laid at Naples in the year 1608; and that at one and the same time, they laboured to secure the success of it in Italy, Spain, Flanders, and France. To this he adds, that the duke d'Epernon, and the marchioness de Verneuil, met several times at St. Jean en Greve; that they had been heard to say something relating to their scheme, and that Henry IV. himself was informed of it: but that this prince, either through a blind security, or an excess of goodness, neglected this information.

Those who have observed that the duke of Sully, in some passages of his Memoirs, confessed that he does not declare all he knows on this subject, may in these words find some grounds for suspicions; but indeed in all these there is nothing sufficiently clear nor positive, to make it allowable, upon such hints, to accuse this or that person; and, at present, the best thing that can be done, is to draw a veil over this mystery of iniquity, and, if possible, to consign for ever to oblivion this shocking period of our history. We ought to take this part, although it were true, what some persons are fully persuaded of, that there are two or three cabinets in Paris which are able to throw some new lights upon this fact. Those who are possessed of such papers, are greatly to be praised for concealing them with so much care, and it would be well if they could resolve to consign them to the flames.

Throughout this whole detail, I have not quoted Vittorio Siri; not that he makes no mention of the assassination of Henry IV. and the trial of

Ravaillac, Mem. Recond. Vol II. p. 246, but he does it in so negligent a manner, and like a man so ill informed, and even so prejudiced against the person of Henry IV. and his maxims of government, that his testimony deserves to have no weight. I shall only observe here, that it is his opinion absolutely, that Ravaillac had no accomplices.

☞ This long and laboured attempt of the compiler of Sully's Memoirs, to exculpate the Jesuits from all share in the assassination of Henry IV. is fully examined and refuted in a tract intitled, *Observations sur la nouvelle Forme des Mémoires travestis de M. le Duc de Sully.* The reader will find it in the Supplement to the French edition of Sully in 10 volumes, 1778.

THE

TRIAL OF FRANCIS RAVAILLAC,

FOR THE

MURDER OF KING HENRY IV. 1610.

INTERROGATORIES *exhibited to the Prisoner accused of the murder of the late king, on the* 17*th of May,* 1610, *at the suit of the attorney-general, by* ACHILLES DE HARLAY, *first president;* NICHOLAS POTIER, *president*; JOHN COURTIN *and* PROSPER BAVIN, *counsellors of our lord the king in his court of parliament, commissioners appointed by the said court for that purpose.*

THE prisoner is sworn; and asked his name, age, rank, and place of abode?

He said, that his name was Francis Ravaillac, born and dwelling at Angoulême, between thirty-one and thirty-two years of age.

He was asked if he was married?

He answered, No.

Whether he ever had been married?

He answered, No.

How he had spent his youth? and to what he had applied himself?

He said, that he had been employed in soliciting law-suits in this court.

Whether he had been bred up to the practice of the law?

He said that he had solicited law-suits for fourteen years; that he lodged at the Rats, opposite to the Green Pillar, in Harp-street, at a cobler's; and near the three pair of beads, in Calender-street.

How long he had been in this city the last journey?

He said, about three weeks.

Whether he has had any intention to go back again?

He said, Yes.

How far he had gone back?

He said, he had gone beyond the town of Estampes, at the sign of the *Ecce Homo.*

He was asked, what made him return?

He said, a desire to kill the king.

He was asked, what was his motive?

He answered, that amongst other reasons there was this, that the king had not, as he was able to do, brought back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic, apostolic, and roman church.

He was asked, what other reasons he had?

He answered that he was come to this city to speak to the king, and admonish him to bring back those of the pretended reformed religion to the catholic church; and for that purpose he had been several times at the Louvre to meet with his majesty; that he had been at madam d'Angoulême's, to get somebody to introduce him; and likewise at the house of the cardinal Du-Perron, to whom he never spoke, but only to his chaplains, whose names he could not tell, but should know them if he saw them; that he spoke of it to father Daubigny, a Jesuit, in his last journey, which was before Christmas; he spoke of it to the parson of Saint-Severin

and to the father Saint-Mary-Magdalen, provincial of the Feuillants.

It was asked him, where he spoke to father Daubigny?

He said, he spoke to him in the church in Saint-Antony's street, at the conclusion of mass.

He was asked at what time he talked to him?

He said, that he set out from his own country thirteen days before Christmas; that he was fourteen days in coming to this city; that three or four days after his arrival, he went to the house of the Jesuits near Saint-Antony's gate, where, he said, father Daubigny said mass; after which, he desired one of the lay-brothers to procure him the means of speaking to the said Daubigny; which he did; and he told him several visions which had preceded the meditations that he had made by the permission of his provincial, Francis Mary-Magdalen of the Feuillants.

He was asked, why he used the expression, *My provincial?*

He said, because the said Mary-Magdalen had received him as lay-brother at the Feuillants.

It was asked, how long he had wore the habit of a Feuillant? and why he had quitted it?

He said that he had worn it about six weeks; and they had taken it from him, because he had visions in his meditations.

On being asked again about it, he said he had desired it again, but it was refused him on account of the said meditations.

Upon this he began to weep, and said, God had given him that habit, and his grief was, that they would not restore it to him.

He was asked, if he knew the superior, and his name?

He said, that he did not know him nor his name; but that he had asked for the habit again, only because it being our Lord's pleasure that he should continue in the world, from which it was his wish to retire, he resolved to serve as a lay-brother.

This he uttered with tears.

He said, that he had a great deal of uneasiness, in not having staid with the Feuillants in the favour of God.

He was asked, what visions he had spoke of to father Daubigny?

He said, that he had told him, that while he was a prisoner for debt at Angoulême he had visions representing fire, sulphur, and incense; and being released from prison, the Saturday after Christmas, having at night made his meditation, as was his custom, in bed, with his hands clasped, and his feet crossed, he felt his face and his mouth covered with something which he could not discern, because it was midnight; and being in that state, he felt in himself a desire to sing the Psalms of David; he began the psalm, *Dixit Dominus*, and sung it through; and afterwards, *Miserere*, and *De profundis*, at full length: and that it seemed to him, that he had a trumpet in his mouth, which made a sound as loud as that which is made in war.

The next day in the morning, as soon as he got out of bed, having made his meditation on his knees, and recollected in God, as his manner was, he sat down in a low chair before the hearth, and having combed his head, it being not yet light, he perceived one of the sticks yet on fire; and having finished dressing himself, he found part of a bundle of twigs, which he put to the stick that had kept fire, and kneeling down upon the ground, set himself to blow it, when immediately, on both sides of

his face, both to the right and to the left, he saw, by the glimmering of the fire which was produced by his breath, hosts like those which are used at the communion of Catholics in the church of God; and below his face, at the right side of his mouth, he saw a roll of the same size with that which the priest elevates at the celebration of divine service. Of this revelation he gave an account to father Daubigny, who, fearing that his head was disordered, told him that he was not to think of all this, but to tell his beads, and pray to God; but that he was determined in his own mind to address himself to some great man to speak to the king.

It was enquired, if he had asked Daubigny whether, if he should have visions that incited him to kill the king, he ought to confess them?

He answered, that he had said nothing to him but what he had already told, except that his purpose was to speak to the king to drive out all the followers of the pretended reformed religion, and convert them to the roman catholic church.

It was asked, what Daubigny said to this?

He said, that he should put all these things out of his head, say his prayers, and tell his beads.

It was asked, whether he had no other conversation with him? and whether he never saw him but that time?

He answered, No.

Why did he choose to address himself to Daubigny rather than to any other?

He answered, that it was because, when he was turned out of the Feuillants, he had a mind to become a Jesuit, or to entreat him to speak to his provincial to replace him among the Feuillants; but that, not having found him the first time, one of the lay brethren told him, that they never received

into their house those who had been in another order.

He said farther, that, not having been able to speak to the king, he went back to the Jesuits to speak a second time to the said Daubigny, and spoke to him as he has already said, and shewed him a little knife on which there was a heart and a cross, telling him, that the heart of the king should be disposed to make war amongst the Huguenots.

He was asked, what hindered him from speaking to the king?

He said, that it was the grand provost who had given him the torture with the gun while he was kept prisoner at the Hôtel de Retz.

He was asked to whom he had applied himself that he might speak with the king?

He said, to the archers, and they carried him to speak to the provost, who told him that the king was sick.

He was asked, when he was at the Louvre?

He said, that it was after Christmas, and some two or three days afterwards he met his majesty near St. Innocent's in his coach, and, desiring to speak to him, he cried out in these words: *Sire, I speak to you in the name of our Lord Jesus, and of the Holy Virgin;* but the king put him back with a little stick, and would not hear him. He then considered of retiring into his own country, and went away. And, being at Angoulême, he went to look for friar Gilles there, who had been formerly visitor of the Franciscan friars in Paris, to whom he confessed his visions and meditations, telling him, that he saw it to be the will of our Lord to bring back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic church: that the visitor told him he need not doubt of it. A few days afterwards, and the first Sunday

in Lent, he went to mass at the monastery of the Franciscan friars in Angoulême, where he reconciled himself with God, made his confession to a friar of the order, whose name he does not know, and in his confession told the voluntary murder.

He was desired to explain what he meant by the word *voluntary.*

He said, his meaning was, that he returned into this city with an intention to murder the king, which, nevertheless, he did not tell his confessor, who did not desire the meaning of those words.

Upon being further questioned, he said, that he had then lost that intention, but that, when he returned to this city, he resumed his intention.

He was asked, when he came to this city?

He said, that he travelled on foot, and arrived eight days after his setting out.

He was asked, how he had employed himself during his stay in Paris?

He said, that he lodged at the Three Half Moons, in the suburbs St. James; and afterwards, that he might be near the Louvre, he went to lodge at the Three Pigeons, in the suburb St. Honoré; from thence he went to take a lodging at an inn, near the *quinze vingts,* but, there being too many guests there, he was refused; upon which he took up a knife that lay upon a table, not upon account of his being refused a lodging, but because it seemed to him a very fit one for the execution of his design, and he kept it for some days, or three weeks, in a bag in his pocket.

He farther said, that, having desisted from his intention, he set out upon his journey home, and went as far as Estampes; that, as he was walking, he broke the point of the knife against a cart near the garden of Chanteloup, and, coming opposite to the

Ecce Homo, of the suburb of Estampes, he again took it into his head to kill the king, and, no longer resisting the temptation, as he had done formerly, he returned to Paris with that resolution, because the king did not convert the followers of the pretended reformation, and because he had heard it reported, that the king intended to make war upon the Pope, and transfer the seat of the holy see to Paris.

He was then asked, where he lodged? and who procured him lodgings in this city?

He said, that he sought for an opportunity to kill the king; and that, for this purpose, he sharpened, with a stone, the point of the knife, which had been broke, and waited till the queen was crowned, and come back to the city, supposing that there would not be so much confusion in France, if he killed the king after her coronation, as if he had done it before.

He was told, that, since he deferred killing the king through a hope that there would be fewer commotions after the coronation, the said coronation could not prevent the troubles which the king's death must necessarily bring along with it.

He said, that he submitted that to the will of God.

He was asked, where he went to meet the king?

He said, that he went to the Louvre, where he had been several times since he had resolved upon killing him; that he went there last Wednesday, and intended to kill him between the two gates, as he was going into his coach; that he followed him as far as St. Innocent's, near the place where he happened to meet him before, when he would not speak to him; and observing that the coach was stopt by two carts, and that his majesty turned his face and leaned towards that side where monsieur

d'Epernon sat, he struck him twice in the side with his knife, passing his arm above the coach-wheel.

He was asked, what was his own opinion of the action he had committed?

He said that he thought he had committed a great fault, for which he asked pardon of God, of the queen, the dauphin, the whole court, and of every one who was injured by it.

We shewed him the knife, which lay before us: it was double edged at the point, with the handle made of a stag's horn. He acknowledged it to be the same with which he had stabbed the king, and that it was immediately taken from him by a gentleman on horseback.

He was told, that he could have no reason for committing so wicked and traitorous an act, and that he had certainly been incited to it by some other person?

He said, that no person whatever had incited him to do it, but the common discourse among the soldiers, who said, that if the king, who would not tell his design to any one, intended to make war upon the Holy Father, that they would not assist him, although they were to die for it: that for this cause he yielded to the temptation which prompted him to kill the king, because he made war against God, inasmuch as the Pope is God, and God the Pope.

He was asked, what time it was that he heard this discourse amongst the soldiers?

He said, that it was after he went to lodge at the Three Half Moons.

It was objected to him, that he was guilty of a falsehold in declaring that to be the cause of his committing the parricide, because he had said before, that, having laid aside his design of killing the

king, he set out on his journey to his own country; and that, when he came to Estampes, he resumed that design, upon the discourse of the soldiers.

He answered, that he had spoke to them before, notwithstanding which he had altered his intention; but, when he came to Estampes, he resumed it upon remembering what the soldiers had said to him.

He desired us to shew him a paper which he had about him at the time he was seized, whereon was painted the arms of France, with a lion on each side, one holding a key, the other a sword. We shewed this paper to him, and he acknowledged it to be the same which he had brought with him from Angoulême, with an intention to kill the king.

He was asked, whether, when he was at the house of a man whose name was Beliard, he had heard the said Beliard say, that the Pope's nuncio had told the king, in the name of his holiness, that, if he made war, he would excommunicate him?

He said, Yes; and also that his majesty had answered, that it was his predecessors who had placed the Popes upon the throne; and that, if the Holy Father should excommunicate him, he would dispossess him of it; whereupon he resolved to kill the king, and with that intention he wrote these lines over the two lions:

Ne souffre pas qu'on fasse en ta presence
Au nom de Dieu aucune irreverence.

Do not suffer the name of God to be profaned in thy presence.

He was asked, whether the knife, when he took it off the table, had the same handle that it has now?

He said, No: that the handle was of whalebone, which, being broke, he gave the knife to his landlord's brother, whose name was John Barbier, a turner by trade, living in the suburb of St. James, and desired him to put a handle of horn upon it; but he did not tell him why he preferred that to any other.

He was asked, if this Beliard was of the pretended reformed religion?

He said, No; that he was a Catholic: nevertheless he held that discourse with him which put it into his head to kill the king.

He was told, that he ought not to have taken so wicked and abominable a resolution upon the discourse of one man only.

He said, he had taken a resolution to kill the king, not only upon what he had heard this man say, but also upon the discourse of the soldiers at Paris, and that of the sieur de St. Gorges, among others, who said, that, if the king would make war upon the Holy Father, he would obey him, being thereto obliged; and that, if the king did wrong, he only was to answer for it.

We shewed him a heart of Cost-mary root, which he acknowledged to have been taken from him; and he said, it had been given him by monsieur Guillebaut, canon of Angoulême, to cure him of a fever, saying, that there was within it a little bit of wood of the real Holy Cross, consecrated by the Capuchin friars, which had that virtue; and for that purpose he had sent Mary Moseau, his landlady, to the Capuchins, for it, and ever since he had wore it about his neck.

We ordered it to be opened in his presence; but there was no wood to be found in the inside.

Upon which he said, that it was not him who was deceived, but the person who gave it him.

We shewed him a pair of beads, which, he said, he had bought in St. James's-street, seven or eight days ago; that he has said his prayers with them, and wore them ever since constantly.

He was asked what persons he kept company with after he had resumed his intention to kill the king?

He said, he kept company with none but the friars of his own country, who are at the convent of the Dominican friars, whither he used to go to hear mass and vespers.

He was asked, what discourse he had with them? and if he had spoke to them of his visions?

He said, that he had told them what he had told to others.

He was asked, if he was acquainted with a man whose name was Colletet? and what discourse they had had together?

He said, that he knew him only by lodging in the same room with him; that they lay together, but that he had not spoke to him of his design.

He was asked, if he had had any discourse with any other friars?

He said, not in this last journey.

If he had had any discourse with a Franciscan friar of Angoulême?

He said, Yes: but that he had not spoke to him of his enterprise, and of his imaginations.

He was told, that he did not say the truth; for that he had spoke to him of his imaginations, asking his opinion whether he, who had such imaginations, ought to declare them to his confessor.

To this he answered, that he had not spoke to a

Franciscan of his own country, but to another whom he met near Bourg de La-Royire, with whom he joined company; and, because he had no acquaintance in this city, he gave him part of his own lodgings, and carried letters from his friends to procure him admission into the convent: that he also carried his bundle for him: and that the name of this friar was Le-Febure.

It was observed to him, that, during the reading of his examination, when the wounds he had given the king were mentioned, he had asked pardon of God for that crime, but that the true means to obtain it, was to acknowledge the truth; that his pretence for committing that action was so slight, that he must certainly have been prompted to it by some one who was concerned in the success of that miserable stroke, of which we feel the effects.

He said, that, since he has been under confinement, he had been urged by several persons to make this confession, and even by the archbishop of Aix; but that he had been prompted by no person whatever, but by his own desires; and that, however he might be tormented, he should never say any thing else; that, if torments could have forced him to confess, he had suffered sufficiently by the torture which a Huguenot of his own private authority gave him, when he kept him prisoner at the Hôtel de Retz, by which he had the bone of his thumb broke.

He was told, that he had been chosen to commit this action as a proper instrument of mischief; he whose whole life had been wicked, and who had begun with using a father and a mother ill, and reducing them to beggary.

He said, that it would not be found so; and that his father and mother, who were still living, would

witness the contrary, as well as the people where he dwelt; that he had been indeed accused and condemned for it; but it was by false witnesses; for he was innocent.

He was asked, when he was at Brussels?

He said, that he never was out of the kingdom; and that he did not know where Brussels is.

This examination being read to the said Ravaillac, he persisted in his answers, and signed his name

RAVAILLAC.

The Examination taken next morning, at the palace, by us the Commissioners, the first President being sick.

The prisoner being sent for as before, and his oath taken,

He was asked, what was his rank and condition? and if he had a father or a mother alive?

He said, that he is a practitioner of the law, and that, before his confinement, he employed himself in instructing youth; and that his father is likewise a practitioner of the law, and that his mother is separated from his father.

We having again ordered his examination to be read to him, he persisted in his answers, without adding or diminishing any thing, except only that he omitted saying, as he did now, that he had been carried to the commission of that crime, because the king would not permit justice to be done upon the Huguenots, for the attempt they made last Christmas to murder all the Catholics, for which attempt many of the Huguenots had been taken prisoners, and brought into this city; yet, he had been told, by several persons, were not punished.

He was told, that this was false; and that, although he had heard it, he should not have believed it, nor have been induced to commit a deed so wicked and abominable.

He said, that this was one of the circumstances which helped to strengthen the temptation.

He was told, that it was the advice and instruction of others which strengthened it.

He said, that no one was engaged in the design but himself.

He was asked, if he lived in the same country with his father and mother?

He said, that he had lived with his father and mother, but that his father neither loved him nor his mother.

He was asked, how he maintained himself?

He said, that he had eighty scholars, and that, with what he gained from them, he supported himself in the journies he had made to this city.

He was asked, if his father and mother observed his conduct?

He said, that his father had not lived with them these six years; that he hated him; and that he had lived with his mother only, his sisters having likewise left her.

He was asked, what means he had of living?

He said, that his father and mother lived upon alms, and he himself upon what he gained from his scholars, one of whom gave him bacon, another flesh, another corn, wine, &c. and by what his friends furnished him with.

He was asked who were his friends?

He said, that they were the fathers and mothers of his scholars.

He was asked why he did not stay in his own country, since he could get a livelihood there?

He said, that he thought he should prefer the honour of God to all things.

He was told, that it was not for the honour of God to kill his king, but that it was an act of the devil.

He said that it was a wicked temptation, which did not proceed from God, but was a punishment to him for his sins.

He was asked, if he was not filled with horror at the commission of an act so abominable, and of so fatal consequence to all France?

He said, that he was sorry for having committed it, but that since it was done, he implored God to give him grace, that he might be able to continue till death in good faith, lively hope, and perfect charity; and that he hoped God was more merciful, and his will to save him more powerful, than the act which he had committed was to damn him.

He was told, that he could not be in the grace of God, after having committed so wicked an action.

He said, that he hoped our all-powerful Lord would not make him suffer for it.

He was told, that he ought not to hope for the mercy of God, unless he acknowledged the truth, and declared who the persons were who had incited and persuaded him to so wicked a deed.

He said, that his only reason for committing it was, what he had declared before at his examination.

He was asked, if he had imparted his intention to any one?

He said, that he had not to any person whatever.

He was told, that he was too mean and inconsiderable a person to have conceived such a design, and that he must have been advised and supported by others.

He said, that no person had advised him.

He was told, that he was so much the more wicked, if he undertook such an enterprise without being advised to it; therefore he would do well to declare who were his advisers.

To this he answered, that the reason why he did not declare this pernicious intention to priests, and men who have the care of souls, was, that he was well assured if he had disclosed to them his design of killing the king, it was their duty to seize his person, and put him into the hands of justice; since, whenever the public is concerned, priests are obliged to reveal all confessions; for this reason therefore he would not open himself to any person, through a fear that he might be punished with death, as well for his intention of killing the king, as if he had really done it, for which he asked pardon of God.

He was told, that the church commands, that all evil thoughts should be revealed in confession, and to neglect it is a deadly sin.

He said, that he acknowledged this.

He was told, that he had mentioned it.

He said, he had not.

He was asked, if he had spoken of it to a Franciscan friar?

He said, No.

He was told, that he did not speak the truth, for that he had mentioned it to a Franciscan friar, asking him, whether, if a man had strange visions, such as to kill the king, he ought to declare them in his confession?

He said, that it was true he had consulted a friar upon this head, but did not tell him that he would do it.

He was asked, who it was that he consulted?

He said, a young Franciscan friar, named Le-Febure, to whom he put this question, Whether, if a man was assaulted with a temptation, such as to kill a king, and should confess it to the penitentiary, he should be under a necessity of revealing it; but being interrupted by another friar, he could not know the friar's opinion concerning the case that he put to him.

He was told, that he did not say the truth, and that the Franciscan did make him an answer; and he was asked, if he would believe the Franciscan if he owned it?

He said, that he would not believe him; but that it was his opinion, that if the friar had given him an answer, it was, that he ought to reveal his imaginations; but he was interrupted, and therefore would not give him an answer; neither did he, the accused, propose the question to him, as if he was the man who had the temptation, but in general, as if it should happen to any man.

He was told, that he did not acknowledge the truth, and that he did declare his intentions to him.

He said, that it was very unlikely that he should do so; that he had applied, as well to laymen as to others, even to an equerry belonging to queen Margaret, whose name was De-Ferrare; he declared his visions to him, and intreated him to procure him an opportunity to speak to the king; that the equerry answered, he must first have proofs that he was a good man, and one who was fit to speak to the king: to which he, the accused, made answer, that he thought he was good enough to speak to the king. He added, that probably if he had spoke to his majesty, he would have lost his temptation. That he afterwards applied to the secretary of madame

d'Angoulême, who told him that the king was sick; yet he went again to the house of the cardinal Du-Perron, where he had the answer he formerly repeated, that he would do better to return to his own house.

He was told, that that was good counsel, and he ought to have followed it.

He said that it was true, but he was so weakened by his sins that he had no power over himself; and that the devil made him fall into this temptation.

He was told that the devil made use of others to tempt him.

He said, that no man had ever spoke to him on the subject.

He was told, that he could not hope for the grace of God, unless he discharged his conscience.

He said, that he had some fears, but he also had great hopes of the grace of God.

He was told, that he could not expect it but by declaring the truth.

He said, that if he had been employed by any one in France, or by a foreigner, and should be so abandoned by God as to die without declaring it, he should not believe that he would be saved, or that there would be any paradise for him, because *abissus abissunt*, &c. as he had learned of the preachers of our Lord; that one abyss of sins leads into others: that it was so double his crime, that the king, more especially the queen, the whole house of France, the court, the nobility, and all the people, should, on his account, be induced to offend God, while their minds remained in a perpetual inquietude, suspecting, unjustly, sometimes one, sometimes another, of their subjects; none of whom, he believed, were so imprudent, as to entertain a thought of being disloyal to their princes.

He was told, that if that was his opinion, he ought the more readily to declare who had persuaded him to the crime.

He said, that no Frenchman, foreigner, or any other, had ever advised, persuaded, or spoke to him on this subject; neither had he, the accused, ever mentioned it to any one: he was not so wicked as to have committed that deed for any other cause than what he had declared to us, namely, that he believed the king intended to make war upon the Pope.

He was told, that this was a false pretence.

He said, that he was very sorry for what he had done, and that he earnestly begged of every one to lay aside their suspicions of his having been set on to murder the king, and to believe that he only was concerned in that deed; and that they would not look with an evil eye, or bear any one ill will, since he alone was guilty.

He was asked, if he had ever been in service?

He said, that he had served the late monsieur Rosieres, a counsellor of Angoulême; and that he had lived likewise with some attorneys, who were now dead.

He was asked, if he had ever served any nobleman, as a page, footman, or valet de chambre?

He said that he had not; but when he lived with counsellor Rosieres, as his clerk, he likewise served him as a valet de chambre.

He was asked, if he had seen the coronation last Tuesday, and if he had followed the king?

He said he had not.

He was asked, if he had been on the road to Saint-Denis?

He said, not this last journey, but at Christmas last, when he went to beg alms of the bakers.

He was asked, if he had been there last week?

He said, he had not gone farther than Saint-Jean-en-Greve, and le Pont Notre-Dame.

He was asked, if he had any magical characters about him? and who had given them to him?

He said, he should have thought it a wicked thing to have them.

His examination being read to him, he persisted in his answers, and signed his name

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Underneath which he wrote these lines:

Que toujours en mon cœur,
Jesus soit le vainqueur.

In my heart let Jesus be always conqueror.

Father James Daubigny, priest of the college of Jesuits, was this day sent for into court by us the commissioners, in the presence of Ravaillac; both of them acknowleged the oaths they had taken.

The said Ravaillac acknowledged, that the said father Daubigny was the person whom he had heard say mass some time after last Christmas, in their church in Saint Antony's-street: that having been told he was the friend of father Mary Magdalen the Feuillant, he went to seek him, to intreat him to procure his admission into that order; that after mass was over, he spoke to him by the means of a lay-brother, and declared to him, that he had had great visions and imaginations, importing, that the king ought to reduce the followers of the pretended reformation; and that he shewed the said Daubigny a little knife, whereon was a heart and a cross;

believing, that the king ought to bring back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic and roman church.

The said Daubigny replied, that, all this was false, and that he had never seen the said Ravaillac.

The said Ravaillac answered, By the same token you gave me a penny, which you asked of one that was near you.

To this the said Daubigny answered, that the prisoner was a very bad man; and after having committed so wicked an action, he had sins enough to answer for, without being the cause of an hundred thousand others, which might be committed.

The prisoner was then told, that if he had any objections to make to father Daubigny, he must make them immediately.

He said that he had none; that he looked upon the said father Daubigny to be an honest man, a good religious, and that he would believe him.

In like manner, the said Daubigny being told of the ordinance, that he must make his objections to the prisoner immediately, for they would not afterwards be received,

He said, that he had nothing else to say, but that the prisoner was a very wicked man, and had uttered several falsehoods.

The examination of the said Daubigny being read in the presence of the said Ravaillac, he, the said Daubigny, persisted in his answers, and declared that they were true.

But the said Ravaillac declared, that he had spoke to the said Daubigny: that he went to look for him when he came out of the Louvre, and told him that he had temptations; and that when he was in prison making his meditations, by permission of father Mary Magdalen, his hands and feet had sent

forth a stench of sulphur and fire, which were proofs of the existence of a purgatory, contrary to the erroneous opinion of heretics; that he had visions of the sacred hosts on each side of his face, having before sung the Psalms of David; and, in a word, that he had related all those circumstances to him which he had declared to us the day before in his examination; and that the said Daubigny said to him, in answer, that he, the said Ravaillac, ought to apply to some great men to admonish the king: however, since he had not done it, it was more proper for him to pray to God, he being of opinion, that those visions he spoke of were merely imaginary, and the effects of a disordered brain, as might be perceived by his looks; that he ought to eat good soup, go to his own country, tell his beads, and pray to God.

To this the said Daubigny replied, that these were all dreams and lies.

We having caused the questions that were put to the said Ravaillac concerning the said Daubigny, with his answers, to be read to him in the presence of Daubigny, the said Ravaillac persisted in his answers, and declared that they were true.

The said Daubigny replied, that all which the said Ravaillac had deposed against him was false, as he had before declared to us.

Upon this, Ravaillac, being farther questioned, replied, that he had never seen the said Daubigny but that one time.

Their examination being read to them, they persisted in their answers, and signed their names.

The Examination taken on the 19th of the said month of May, in the morning, at the Palace, by us the Commissioners.

THE said Ravaillac being brought into court, and his oath taken, he was required to declare, who those persons were that had prompted him to so wicked an undertaking.

He said, that all which now remained for him to declare was his intention and earnest desire to free himself from the load of his sins; that the whole nation was, upon his account, led to believe that he had been bribed by the enemies of France to kill the king, or by foreign kings and princes, who were desirous of aggrandising themselves, as was too common among the kings and great potentates of the earth, who do not consider whether their motive for making war is agreeable to the will of God; or else through a covetous desire of appropriating unjustly to themselves the territories of other princes; but that the truth was, he, the prisoner, had not been incited to that action by any person whatever; for if he could have been so wicked as to have committed it for money, or for the interest of foreigners, he would have acknowledged it in the presence of God, before whom he now maintained the truth; that he therefore intreated the queen, the court, and the whole nation, to believe him, and not to charge his soul with the crime they commit, in supposing he was prompted to that parricide by any other; for that this sin would fall heavy on him, the prisoner, for being the cause of the uncertainty they were in which gave rise to their suspicions; and he therefore implored them to lay those suspicions aside, since no one but himself was

able to judge of the fact, and it was such as he had confessed.

It was remonstrated to him, that since he had neither been injured in his person or goods by any command or ordinance of the king, it was not probable he would make an attempt upon his sacred person, whom he knew to be God's anointed, unless he had been persuaded to it by some other persons, and had received money from them; he being a poor man, in want of the necessaries of life, and the son of parents who lived upon alms.

He said, that it is sufficiently proved to the court through the course of his examination, if he had, through the force of money, or by the persuasions of persons who are ambitious of the sceptre of France, been prevailed upon to murder the king, he would not have come three times expressly from Angoulême to Paris, which were a hundred leagues distant from each other, to admonish the king to bring back the followers of the pretended reformation to the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, as being persons who acted contrary to the will of God and his church; for a man who could be so wicked as to suffer himself to be corrupted, through avarice, to assassinate his prince, would not have come three several times to admonish him, as he had done; and that, since he had committed this parricide, the sieur de la Force, captain of the guards, has acknowledged that he, the prisoner, had been at the Louvre, and earnestly entreated him to procure him the means of speaking to the king; and that the said sieur de la Force told him he was a furious Papist, asking him if he knew monsieur d'Epernon; to which he, the prisoner, replied, that he did know monsieur d'Epernon, and that he himself was not a furious Papist; but that, when he had taken the

habit in the monastery of St. Bernard, father Francis de St. Peter was appointed to be his spiritual father; and, since he was a true Roman, and apostolic Catholic, he was desirous of living and dying such: and he entreated the said sieur de la Force to bring him to the speech of the king; for he durst not declare to him the temptation he had so long had to kill the king; all he wanted was to tell it to his majesty, to the end that he might no longer be troubled with this bad intention.

He was asked, whether, when he took those journeys to advise the king to make war upon the followers of the pretended reformation, he designed, in case his majesty had not complied with his desires, to have commited the wicked act he had done.

He said, he did not intend it in that case; for he should have laid aside his design, and have thought that it was better to make him that remonstrance than to kill him.

It was objected to him, that he had not changed his wicked intention; since, after his last journey from Angoulême, in Easter, he had not sought for an opportunity to speak to the king, which was a proof that he left Angoulême with a resolution to do what he had done.

He said, it was true.

He was asked, if, from Easter-day to that on which he left Angoulême, he had received the holy communion?

He said, he had not; and that he received it the first Sunday in Lent; but that he had, nevertheless, caused the holy sacrifice of the mass to be celebrated in St. Paul's church at Angoulême, which was his parish church, as acknowledging himself unworthy of the most holy and august sacrament, full of mystery and incomprehensible virtue, because he

was troubled with the temptation which prompted him to kill the king, and would not, in such a state, approach the precious body of his God.

It was objected to him, that, since he perceived he was not worthy of that mystery which he called incomprehensible, he could not assist with any devotion at that holy sacrifice celebrated by the priest, of which all Christians participate, receiving spiritually that which he who consecrates receives actually.

To this he was silent. He continued some time pensive and in thought, and then said, that he did not well know what to answer to their remonstrance; but afterwards he said, that he remembered it was his great affection for the most holy sacrament of the altar, which induced him to have it celebrated; and that he hoped he should participate of the communion by means of his mother, who was going to receive her God in that sacrifice; because he was always of opinion, that she was more pious, and had more love for her God than he had. Saying this he shed many tears.

He was told, that he could have no reverence for, nor any faith in the holy communion and sacrifice of the mass, since he had, for a long time, been under the influence of the devil, and been accustomed to invoke demons, whom he caused to appear to him, when he lodged in this city, about four years ago.

He said, that he never had invoked demons.

He was asked, if he knew a man named Dubois, born in Limoges? and whether they lodged together in this city, and lay in the same chamber?

He said, he did know him: that they lodged together at the sign of the Rats, opposite to the Green Pillar in Harp-street.

He was asked, if he would believe what the said Dubois should say?

He said, Yes, he would believe him.

He was asked, whether, as he lay in bed with the said Dubois, he did not use some magical incantation, invoking the demons? and in what manner?

He said, that this was so far from being true, that he did not even lie in the same chamber with the said Dubois, but in a garret over the room where he, the said Dubois, lay: that, about midnight, the said Dubois, repeating *Credo in Deum*, earnestly entreated him, several times, to come down to him; saying, Ravaillac, my friend, come down; and crying aloud, My God, have mercy upon me! that thereupon he, the prisoner, would have gone down to him to know why he cried out for help in such a manner, but he was hindered by some persons in the room with him, who were terrified with the cries of the said Dubois: but that he, the prisoner, going down to Dubois some time afterwards, he told him, that he had seen a black dog of a monstrous size, and very terrible, which came and laid its two forepaws upon his bed; and that the terror this vision threw him into made him utter those cries, and entreat that he, the prisoner, would come into his room and stay with him; upon which he, the prisoner, advised the said Dubois to have recourse to the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the altar, in order to get rid of his horrible visions, and to cause mass to be said the next morning; and that they went together accordingly the next morning to the convent of the Franciscan friars, and caused the holy mass to be said, to draw down the grace of God upon them, and to preserve them from the incursions of the devils, the common enemies of mankind.

It was objected to him, that it was not at all probable that the said Dubois should have called to him, who lay so high; or that he should have heard his voice.

He answered, that nothing was more likely, it being one of the properties of the voice to ascend; but that, since the court would not believe him, the truth of what he said would be attested by those persons who were in the room where he lay, and who hindered him from going to the said Dubois: that they were his landlady, Mary Moiseau, and a cousin of hers, named John le Blond, who came into his room on account of the great noise they had heard, and for which he had quitted the room of the said Dubois, where he had lain before.

He was told, that he had no desire to get rid of his temptation, and therefore would not receive the communion on Easter-day, lest it should have the power to divert him from his purpose.

He said, that his reason for not receiving the communion was, that he had, on Easter-day, taken a resolution to kill the king, and upon that account he would not really, and in fact, receive the precious body of our Lord; but had a desire to hear the holy mass before he set out, believing that the sacrament, which his mother received that day, would be sufficient both for her and him, as he then begged of God that it might, and as he did now, and would to his death implore him, that he might be made partaker of all the holy communions, taken by the religious of both sexes, by good men seculars, and others in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman church, receiving in the faith of our holy mother the Church, the precious body of our Redeemer; and that, being thus received by them, he might be made partaker of it, as believing himself a member of one only Jesus Christ.

He was told, that, having resolved upon so wicked an act, he was in the state of mortal sin, and in danger of damnation, and could not partake of the

grace of God, and the communion of good Christians, while he continued to have this wicked intention; and that he ought to have altered it, if he hoped to be in the grace of God as a good Catholic and Christian, as he would be thought to be.

He said, that he did not, in the least, doubt but that he was prompted to it by the motions of his own mind, against the will of God, the author of all truth, contrary to the devil, who is the father of lies; but that now, through the remonstrance of the court, he acknowledged that he either could not or would not resist that temptation, it being out of the power of men to hinder him from committing that wicked action; that he now declared the whole truth, without suppressing or concealing any thing; therefore he hoped that God, who was all good and merciful, would grant him pardon and remission of his sins, he being more powerful to save him, provided he made confession and received absolution, than men were to hurt him; and that he beseeched the Holy Virgin Mary, Monsieur St. Peter, Monsieur St. Francis (here he wept), Monsieur St. Bernard, and all the celestial court of Paradise, to be his advocates and intercessors with the most sacred Majesty, to the end that he might interpose his cross between his soul and hell; and by that he hoped to be made partaker of the merits of our Saviour Christ's passion, most humbly beseeching him that he would give him grace to continue associated with the merits of all those treasures he gave to the apostolic power on earth, when he said, *Thou art Peter*, &c.

His examination being read to him, he persisted in his answers, and signed his name

RAVAILLAC.

On the 27th of May, 1610, *in the Morning, at the Palace.*

The Confrontation of the Witnesses before us, Achilles de Harlay, *Knight, first President;* Nicholas Potier, *President;* Prosper Bavin *and* John Courtin, *Counsellors*, &c.

Paul Noster, exempt of the guards, was confronted with the prisoner; both of them acknowledged the oath they had taken.

The accused said, that the witness was the person who took him prisoner; and the witness, that the accused was the prisoner whom he took.

The prisoner then was told, that, if he had any objections to make against the witness, he must make them immediately, according to the ordinance of the realm.

He said, that he had none.

The deposition of this witness being read to him, he persisted in it; and the prisoner acknowledging that it was true, they both signed it.

The prisoner was then confronted with James de Pluviers, Esq. of St. Michael.

The oath idem, &c.

The prisoner was then confronted with Jerome de la Robye, equerry to the king.

The oath idem, &c.

The prisoner was then confronted with Gamaliel Edovart, one of the king's footmen.

The oath idem, &c.

The prisoner said, that he knew him to be one of the king's footmen, but that he did not know if he was the person who seized him after he committed the act; and, being put in mind of the ordinance, he said, he had no objection to make to him.

The prisoner was then confronted with Peter Dubois.

The oath idem, &c.

The prisoner acknowledged, that what he said was true; but that it was by his advice that the witness had been to hear mass at the convent of the Franciscan friars, at which he likewise was present.

They both signed their names.

May 27th, 1610, *the Court sat in the afternoon in the Chamber de* La-Beuvette.

We the presidents, and several of the counsellors being present, the prisoner, Francis Ravaillac, was brought into court, who having been accused and convicted of parricide committed on the person of the late king, he was ordered to kneel, and the clerk of the court pronounced the sentence of death given against him; as likewise that he should be put to the torture to force him to declare his accomplices.

His oath being taken, he was exhorted to redeem himself from the torments preparing for him, by acknowledging the truth, and declaring who those persons were that had persuaded, prompted, and abetted him, in that most wicked action, and to whom he had disclosed his intention of committing it.

He said, by the salvation I hope for, no one but myself was concerned in this action.

He was then ordered to be put to the torture of the brodequin,* and the first wedge being drove,

* The brodequin is a strong wooden box, made in the form of a boot, just big enough to contain both the legs of the criminal, which being put therein, a wooden wedge is then drove with a mallet

he cried out, " God have mercy upon my soul, and " pardon the crime I have committed; I never dis- " closed my intention to any one." This he repeated as he had done in his interrogation.

When the second wedge was drove, he said with loud cries and shrieks, " I am a sinner, I know no " more than I have declared, by the oath I have " taken, and by the truth which I owe to God and " the court: all I have said was to the little Fran- " ciscan, which I have already declared: I never " mentioned my design in confession, or in any " other way: I never spoke of it to the visitor of " Angoulême, nor revealed it in confession in this " city. I beseech the court not to drive my soul " to despair."

The executioner continuing to drive the second wedge, he cried out, " My God, receive this pe- " nance as an expiation for the great crimes I " have committed in this world: Oh God! accept " these torments in satisfaction for my sins. By the " faith I owe to God, I know no more than what " I have declared, Oh! do not drive my soul to " despair."

The third wedge was then drove lower near his feet, at which a universal sweet covered his body, and he fainted away. The exeutioner forced some wine into his mouth, but he could not swallow it; and, being quite speechless, he was released from the torture, and water thrown upon his face and hands. Some wine being forced down his throat, his speech returned, and he was laid upon a mattrass in the same place, where he continued till noon. When he had recovered his strength, he was con-

between his knees; and after that is forced quite through, a second wedge, of a larger size, is applied in the same manner.

ducted to chapel by the executioner; and messieurs Fillesasqs and Gamaches, two doctors of the Sorbonne, being sent for, his dinner was given him; but before the divines entered into a conference with him, the clerk admonished him to think of his salvation, and confess by whom he had been prompted, persuaded, and abetted in the wicked action he had committed, and so long designed to commit; it not being probable, that he should of himself have conceived and executed it, without communicating it to any other.

He said, that if he had known more than what he had declared to the court, he would not have concealed it, well knowing, that in this case he could not have the mercy of God, which he hoped for and expected; and that he would not have endured the torments he had done, if he had any farther confession to make. He said, he acknowledged that he had committed a great crime, to which he had been incited by the temptation of the devil; that he entreated the king, the queen, the court, and the whole kingdom, to pardon him, and to cause prayers to be put up to God for him, that his body might bear the punishment for his soul. And being many times admonished to reveal the truth, he only repeated what he had said before. He was then left with the doctors, that they might perform the duties of their office with him.

A little after two o'clock the clerk of the court was sent for by the divines, who told him, that the condemned had charged them to send for him, that he might hear and sign his confession, which he desired might be revealed, and even printed, to the end that it might be known to the whole world; which confession the said doctors declared to have been, That no one had been concerned with him in

the act he had committed; that he had not been solicited, prompted, or abetted, by any other person whatever, nor had discovered his design to any one; that he acknowledged he had committed a great crime, for which he hoped to have the mercy of God, which was still greater than his sins, but which he could not hope to obtain if he concealed any thing.

Hereupon the clerk asked the condemned, if he was willing that his confession should be known and revealed? and, as above, admonished him to acknowledge the truth for the salvation of his soul. He then declared upon his oath, that he had said all he knew, and that no one had incited him to commit the murder.

At three o'clock he came from the chapel; and as he was carrying out of the Conciergerie, the prisoners, in great numbers, thronged about him, with loud cries and exclamations, calling him Traitor, Wicked Wretch, Detestable Monster, Damned Villain, and the like; they would have struck him, had they not been hindered by the archers, and the other officers of justice, who kept them off by force.

When he was put into the tumbril, the crowd was so great, that it was with the utmost difficulty the archers and officers of justice could force themselves a passage; and as soon as the prisoner appeared, that vast multitude began to cry out, as above, Wicked Wretch, Traitor, &c.

The enraged populace continued their cries and execrations till he arrived at the Grève; where, before he was taken out of the tumbril to mount the scaffold, he was again exhorted to reveal his accomplices; but he persisted in his former declaration, that he had none; again imploring pardon of the

young king, the queen, and the whole kingdom, for the crime he had committed.

When he had ascended the scaffold, the two doctors comforted him, and exhorted him to acknowledge the truth; and after performing the duties of their function, the clerk approached him, and urged him to think of his salvation now at the close of his life, and to confess all he knew; to which he only answered as he had done before.

The fire being put to his right hand, holding the knife with which he had stabbed the king, he cried out, *Oh God!* and often repeated *Jesu Marie!* while his breast, &c. were tearing with red hot pincers, he renewed his cries and prayers; during which, being often admonished to acknowledge the truth, he persisted in denying that he had any accomplices. The furious crowd continued to load him with execrations, crying, that he ought not to have a moment's respite. Afterwards, by intervals, melted lead and scalding oil were poured upon his wounds; during which he shrieked aloud, and continued his cries and exclamations.

The doctors again admonished him, as likewise the clerk, to confess, and were preparing to offer up publicly the usual prayers for the condemned; but immediately the people, with great tumult and disorder, cried out against it, saying, that no prayers ought to be made for that wicked wretch, that damned monster. So that the doctors were obliged to give over. Then the clerk remonstrating to him, that the indignation of the people was a judgment upon him, which ought to induce him to declare the truth, he persisted to answer as formerly, saying, I only was concerned in the murder.

He was then drawn by four horses, for half an hour, by intervals.

Being again questioned and admonished, he persisted in denying that he had any accomplices; while the people of all ranks and degrees, both near and at a distance, continued their exclamations, in token of their great grief for the loss of their king. Several persons set themselves to pull the ropes with the utmost eagerness; and one of the noblesse, who was near the criminal, alighted off his horse, that it might be put in the place of one which was tired with drawing him. At length, when he had been drawn for a full hour by the horses, without being dismembered, the people, rushing on in crowds, threw themselves upon him, and with swords, knives, sticks, and other weapons, they struck, tore, and mangled his limbs; and violently forcing them from the executioner, they dragged them through the streets with the utmost eagerness and rage, and burnt them in different parts of the city.

May the twenty-first, 1610.

The jailor caused the court to be informed, that he had heard the prisoner say something of consequence; upon which he was sent for, and the oath being administered to him,

He said, That the even before, carrying the prisoner's supper to him, with one of his men, the two archers who guarded him being present, he asked the prisoner where he was when the king went out of the Louvre? to which the prisoner replied, that he was sitting in the hall among the footmen: and being again asked, why he committed such an action? the prisoner answered, "Because of a great "—— but I will not tell you, but I will tell the "court to-morrow; and I could not help doing it, "as I shall prove by my body."

Then ..... archer of the provost of l'Hôtel, being sent for, the oath was administered to him.

He repeated what the jailor had said, adding, that the prisoner said, that his mother had a mark like his; for which reason he could not avoid doing what he did; and that perceiving the king's coach to stop, he saw a vision, which said to him, *Now is the time.*

Then was heard upon oath ..... archer likewise of the provost of l'Hôtel.

He also repeated what the jailor had said, adding, that the prisoner said, he was under the necessity of committing that action, by a mark which he and his mother had, that it came from heaven, and that he would declare it to the court, &c.

Sentence of Death against Francis Ravaillac, *May* 28, 1610.

Extracted from the Registers of the Parliament.

The court, consisting of the great chambers of the Tournelle and the Edict, being assembled, and having seen the criminal proceedings, formed by the presidents and counsellors in that behalf, appointed by commission, at the requisition of the king's attorney-general, against Francis Ravaillac, a practitioner of the law, of the city of Angoulême, prisoner in the Conciergerie of the palace; as also the information made against him, the interrogatories, confessions, answers, and cross-examinations of witnesses, and the state of the case by the king's attorney-general; and the said Ravaillac having been heard and examined by the said court, touching the matters laid to his charge; and touching the verbal process of the interrogatories adminis-

trated to him on the rack; which by order of the said court, he underwent on the 25th of this month, for discovery of his accomplices: On consideration of the whole,

The said court hath declared, and doth declare, the said Ravaillac duly attainted of the crime of high-treason, divine and human, in the highest degree, for the most wicked, most abominable, and most detestable parricide, committed on the person of the late king Henry IV. of good and laudable memory; for reparation whereof, the court hath condemned, and doth condemn him, to make the *amende honorable*, before the principal gate of the church of Paris, whither he shall be carried and drawn in a tumbril in his shirt, bearing a lighted torch of two pound weight, and that he shall there say and declare, that wickedly and traitorously he hath committed the aforesaid most wicked, most abominable, and most detestable parricide, and murdered the said lord the king, by stabbing him twice in the body with a knife; that he repents of the same, and begs pardon of God, the king, and the laws: from thence he shall be carried to the Grève, and, on a scaffold to be there erected, the flesh shall be torn to pieces with red-hot pincers from his breasts, his arms, and thighs, and the calves of his legs; his right hand, holding the knife wherewith he committed the aforesaid parricide, shall be scorched and burned with flaming brimstone; and on the places where the flesh has been torn with pincers, melted lead, boiling oil, scalding pitch, with wax and brimstone melted together, shall be poured: after this, he shall be torn in pieces by four horses, his limbs and body burnt to ashes, and dispersed in the air. His goods and chattels are also declared to be forfeited and confiscated to the king. And it is further

ordained, that the house in which he was born shall be pulled down to the ground (the owner thereof being previously indemnified) and that no other building shall ever hereafter be erected on the foundation thereof: and that within fifteen days after the publication of this present sentence, his father and mother shall by sound of trumpet and public proclamation in the city of Angoulême, be banished out of the kingdom, and forbid ever to return, under the penalty of being hanged and strangled, without any farther form or process at law. The court has also forbidden, and doth forbid, his brothers, sisters, uncles, and others, from henceforth to bear the said name of Ravaillac, enjoining them to change it to some other, under the like penalties; and ordering the substitute of the king's attorney general to cause this present sentence to be published and carried into execution, under pain of being answerable for the same; and before the execution thereof, the court doth order, that the said Ravaillac shall again undergo the torture for the discovery of his accomplices.

Pronounced and executed the
27th day of May, 1610.

VOISIN.

Extract from the Registers of Parliament.

The court, consisting of the great chambers of the Tournelle and the Edict, being assembled, and proceeding to judgment on the criminal process extraordinary, formed at the requisition of the king's attorney-general, on account of the most wicked, most cruel, and most detestable parricide, committed on the sacred person of the late king Henry IV. and having thereupon heard the king's

said attorney-general; hath ordered, and doth order, that, at the instance of the dean and syndic of the faculty of divinity, the said faculty shall be assembled, as soon as may be, to deliberate; and having heard the tenor of the decree of the said faculty of the 13th of December, 1413, and the resolution founded on the opinion of one hundred forty-one doctors of the said faculty, since confirmed by the council of Constance; *That it is not lawful for any one, whoever he be, to make any attempt on the sacred persons of kings, and other sovereign princes.* The said decree thereon to be made by the said assembly, shall be subscribed by all the doctors of the said faculty, who shall have been present at the deliberations; and also by all the batchelors, who are members of the body of divinity; which said decree being communicated to the said attorney-general, and produced to this court, such order shall be made thereon as reason shall require.

Done in parliament, the 27th May, 1610.

APPENDIX.

Letters from HENRY IV. *to his Mistress,* CORISANDE D'ANDOIN, *afterwards Countess of Guiche.*

LETTER I.

Baigneres, Sept. 12, 1570.

I HAVE nothing to write to you except that I have been here since yesterday, drinking the waters, which do me all possible good. M. de Montluc* is also here, who says he is more devoted to me than to any other man living. I govern him in all things. Apropos of this, I beg you will search in my little desk, the letter he wrote to me, in which he tells me that he cannot continue the garrison of my company so near to me, since I employ it otherwise than for the king's service: he also mentions in the same letter that he had learnt, that, in the states held in Bearn, I had declared against the king.† Send me a copy of the letter, and take particular care of the original; for, before we part, he must make me some reparation for it. I entreat you to send it me by a careful person, and in all haste, because I may not again have a like opportunity. I shall act graciously, and with good humour; and both him and his will

* Blaise de Montluc, governor of Guienne.

† This letter was written just after the conclusion of a peace with the Protestants.

be still more my friends after it. I entreat you not to fail in this. I send you the mules, and the - - - -, to carry part of the furniture. As soon as they shall be on their way back, I will set out. I am busily engaged at Seméac. Recommend me to the little girl. I have sent to seek master Amanin. Farewell.

LETTER II.

*Seméac, June 30th, 1579.**

THANKS to God, I have at last recovered those places which had been occupied in this country by the thieves and robbers who had seized upon them; for having an enterprize against Rançon, I sent yesterday to put it in execution, and through God's favour, it succeeded to my wishes: the place was taken, the banditti dispersed, a part slain, and some made prisoners, so that this country is now free, on which account, after having spoken to M. de la Valette, I shall prepare more willingly to quit this place, for I have put the whole of this district in such security, that, for the future, they may, if they will, protect themselves, while I undertake what the said M. de la Valette shall think proper.

You may tell our neighbours of Bayonne and Dax, of what is mentioned above, and say that I desired you to do it, in order that they may know I am not idle where I stay. I have sent the upholsterer to seek your wardrobes at Monréal; they will, I hope, be soon here; but I do not know whether it will be safe to send them by the way of Bearn; it will be less so the other way, therefore I will not dispatch them till you are sure they will go safe: for, not-

* This letter alludes to events which took place immediately on the breaking out of hostilities in 1579. See vol. I. p. 76.

the standing the passport you formerly had, our bullocks are still seized in Bearn, and I cannot recover them: this is all I can tell you. I shall set out on Friday to meet M. de la Valette at Aulx. From thence you shall hear from me.

P. S. If Gabriel be not engaged, I could wish him to come hither to do what I want to have done. Pray send me word if he can come, for I will seek out for another.

LETTER III.

June 17th, [1586?]*

One of your footmen is just arrived, who has been 10 days a prisoner at Brouage; they have taken your's and my sister's letters from him; but St. Luc, fearing the manner in which he is sure I would be revenged for this, has sent them by one of his own people, who will not be here till this evening. The vessel in which the bearer of this came, sails in an hour, which is the reason of my sending him back, having detained Esprit for reasons which you will hear of presently. Yesterday I received intelligence from Germany: by the last of July O. S. our army will be at Place-Montre, in France.

The horse-load of grain costs fifty livres in Champagne and Burgundy, and thirty at Paris; it is distressing to see how the people die of hunger. If you want a coach-horse, there is one in my troop, exactly like your other's, very handsome.

I arrived this evening from Marans, whither I had gone to provide for the safety of it—Ah! how much I wished to have you there!—it is a place more suited to your disposition than any I have ever seen; it is an island surrounded by marshy groves,

* See Vol. I. p. 140.

where at every hundred yards are canals on which to go a pleasuring in boats; the waters are clear and not rapid; the canals are of all breadths, the boats of all sizes; amidst these solitudes are a thousand gardens to which they go only by water. The island, thus environed, is two leagues in circumference;—a river passes by the foot of the castle in the middle of the town, which is as convenient as Pau; there are few houses which have not a small boat at their door. This river divides itself into two branches, which bear not only large boats, but vessels of fifty tons burthen come up it; it is only two leagues from the sea: indeed it is rather a canal than a river; the larger vessels go up against the stream as high as Nyort, distant 12 leagues. There is an infinite number of insulated mills and farms.—Here are all kinds of singing birds; I send you the feathers of various species of sea birds. Of fish there is here an immense quantity, large, and cheap; a large carp for 3 sous, and a pike for 5; it is a place of great trade, and all by means of boats; the country is full of grain, and very beautiful. Here one may live agreeably in peace, and in safety in war; enjoy those we love, or complain of their absence. Ah! this makes me very eloquent! On Tuesday, I set out for Pons, where I shall be nearer you; but I shall not make a long stay there. I think all my other footmen are dead; not one of them has returned. My soul, hold me in your good graces; believe my fidelity to be pure and unspotted; it never had its like. If this affords you gratification, live happily, your slave adores you. I kiss, my heart, thy hands a thousand times.

LETTER IV.

Du Mont, Dec. 8.

MONGLAS is just arrived; he hurries me more than any of the others, and for reasons which are greatly to be apprehended, and which must not be committed to paper; they will be told you. There has been no battle since that near Montargis. The duke of Maïenne has returned to his government, and M. d'Aumale is gone home. Paris will neither receive the king's Switzers, nor the duke of Guise, who appeared before the suburbs. My mind is greatly distracted, and not without cause. See if Navaille's ransome cannot be moderated through your favour. I beseech you employ your influence in this for the love of Tach and me. The bearer of this goes by St. Sevère, and will return the same way. Hold me in your favour, as one who will be faithful to you till death.

P. S. I have two little tame boars, and two fawns; send me word if you will have them.

LETTER V.

Montauban, Jan. 14.

THERE is not a footman, or at least very few, but what is searched, or the letters he carries opened. Seven or eight gentlemen have arrived of those who were at the foreign army, who assure me (and it is true, for one of them is M. de Montluet, Rambouillet's brother, who was one of the deputies sent to treat) that there are not ten gentlemen who have promised not to bear arms. M. de Bouillon has not

promised; in short, nothing is lost which may not be recovered with money. M. de Maïenne has done an action which will gain him little credit; he has stabbed Sacremore with a poniard, as he asked for some reward for his services. I am informed that, not being willing to satisfy his demands, he was afraid that, through discontent, he would reveal all the secrets he knew, even the plot against the king's person, of which he was the principal. God is willing to destroy them by their own dissensions, for Sacremore was the most useful servant they possessed; he was buried before he was quite dead. As I write, Morlants and a footman from my cousin* have arrived, who have been plundered of both their clothes and letters. M. de Turenne will be here to-morrow. He has taken, in three days, eighteen strong-holds about Syjac. If it please God, I shall perhaps soon do something better. The report of my death spreading to Pau, thence to Meaux, reached Paris, where some of the priests, in their sermons, set it forth as one of the blessings which God had promised them! I kiss thy hands a thousand times.

LETTER VI.

Jan. 12.

Yesterday Pychery returned with a short letter from you, and tells me another was taken from him; both were opened; take care, what you write to me. Yesterday also came a man to me from Paris, who has given me full information of every thing. The king is arrived there greatly applauded by the lower orders, who exclaimed aloud, that the leaguers

* The prince of Condé.

did nothing but threaten, but that the king had driven away the foreigners.* The queen-mother did not seem rejoiced at his arrival, nay, she says every where that the duke of Guise would have defeated them without the king. There are some circumstances which I cannot write, having lost the cypher used between you and me. Neither Guitry nor Clervaut† would sign the capitulation, answering that they would sooner lose their possessions than fail in their duty to their master. They are at Geneva: I shall have them with me immediately. The capitulation consists of three articles; those who are willing to obey the edict may live freely at their homes; those who will not, but who will promise not to bear arms, may enjoy their property, in a foreign country; and those who will do neither, are to be conveyed in safety out of the kingdom. Tygnonville‡ will be here to-morrow. No army is yet advancing against us. My life, hold me ever in your favour, and be assured of my fidelity, which is inviolable. I kiss thy hands a thousand times, and also thy little sister.

LETTER VII.

February 23.

You do not find the roads dangerous, to afford pleasure to the least of your friends; but if I write to you to gratify me with your presence, the roads are too dangerous: these are the testimonies of the part I occupy in your good graces. I write the letter you desired to Meryteyn, and send it you

* This and the preceding letter seem to allude to the defeat of the German auxiliaries in 1587. See vol. I. p. 169.

† These were the two agents sent to attend the German troops.

‡ See vol. I. p. 62.

open; I think it will displease her, but I like your favour better than her's. I had blockaded le Masdagenes, but did not bring up the artillery, as I was apprehensive the marshal's army might oblige me to retire in haste, the grand-prior of Thoulouse having joined him with the army of Languedoc. I am just going to mount, with three hundred gentlemen, and I shall advance to the head of their army: it is a great chance if I do not perform some exploit. I conclude, under an idea that you certainly do not wish me well. It is in your power to inspire me with such opinions as you please. I kiss your hands a thousand times.

LETTER VIII.

March 1st.

I HAVE received a letter from you, my M . . . . ., in which you tell me you do not wish me ill, but that you cannot assure yourself of so changeable a creature as I am; the first afforded me great pleasure, but you are greatly to blame in entertaining those doubts you express. What action of mine have you known to be variable, I mean in what relates to you? I have always continued fixed in the love and service I vowed to you, God is my witness. . . . . Yesterday the marshal and the grand prior offered us battle, well knowing that I had disbanded my troops: it was at the top of the vineyards, on the side of Agen. Their force was five hundred horse, and near three thousand infantry. After being five hours in drawing up their troops, which after all were sufficiently confused, they advanced, resolved to drive us into the ditches of the town, which indeed they ought to have done, for all their infantry was in motion. We received

them at the farthest wall of my vineyard; and retired gradually; but always skirmishing, till within a hundred yards of the town, where our main body was, amounting to about three hundred arquebusiers. Here the enemy retired to where they first began the attack; it was the most desperate skirmish I ever witnessed, and produced the least effect, for there were only three soldiers of my guard wounded, and two of them but slightly. Two of the enemy were left dead amongst us, of which we took the spoil; others we saw them carry off with them, together with a great number of their wounded. My life, hold me in your favour; it is what I most desire in this world, which I confirm by kissing your hands a thousand times.

LETTER IX.

[1588.*]

To complete my misery, one of the greatest misfortunes I could have apprehended, has befallen me; this is the sudden death of the prince. I regret him as what he would have been to me, not what he was. I am now the mark against which is directed all the perfidy of the Mass. The traitors have poisoned him; through God's permission, I will take vengeance on them. This poor prince (not indeed in heart) having on Thursday run at the ring, supped in good health: at midnight he was seized with a violent vomitting, which continued till the morning; he kept his bed all the Friday; in the evening he eat his supper, and having slept well during the night, rose on the Saturday morning: he sat up at dinner, and afterwards played at chess; after which

* See vol. I. p. 170.

he rose from his seat, and began to walk across the room, conversing with those about him: all on a sudden he exclaimed—"Give me a chair, I feel "myself extremely weak." He was no sooner seated than he became speechless, and shortly after expired in his chair. The marks of poison suddenly showed themselves. It is impossible to conceive the astonishment which this has occasioned hereabouts.* I shall set out by day-break to examine this business. I foresee much trouble is coming upon me. Entreat God fervently for me; if I escape it, it must be him who hath guarded me even to the grave, to which I am perhaps nearer than I imagine. I will remain ever your faithful slave. Good night, my life. I kiss thy hands a thousand times.

LETTER X.

Nerac, March 8th, at Midnight.

God knows with what regret I quit this place, without going to kiss your hands; indeed, my life, I am confined to my bed with sickness. You will be surprised (and say I have not been deceived) at what Lyceran will tell you: the devil is unchained: I am to be pitied, and it is wonderful that I do not sink under my afflictions. If I were not a Huguenot, I would turn Turk. O, by what violent trials do they put my brain to the test! I cannot fail soon of becoming either a fool or a wise man: this year will try me thoroughly. How grievous are domestic evils! all the troubles which can afflict a mind are continually exercised upon mine. I say every thing at once. Pity me, my life, and do not

* The king appears to have been at this time about Bergerac. See vol. I. p. 170.

add your kind of torment—it is what I dread most. On Friday I set off for Clayrac: I will remember your advice, namely, to be silent. Believe me, nothing but a want of friendship will ever make me change the resolution I have taken to be eternally your's. Love me, my all; your favour is the consolation of my soul in the midst of afflictions;—do not refuse me this support. Good night, my life. I kiss thy hands, &c.

LETTER XI.

Aynset, March 13.

YESTERDAY two messengers came to me from St. Jean-d'Angely, the one in the afternoon, the other in the evening. The former relates that Belcastle, page to the princess, and her valet, suddenly fled after they saw their master dead, having found two horses, worth two hundred crowns, at an inn in the suburbs, which had been kept there for fifteen days before, on each of which was a bag of money. Enquis, the master of the inn, says a person named Brillant sent the horses thither, and came every day to see they were well taken care of, saying that if he gave four measures of corn to the other horses, he should give eight to these, and that he would pay him for the double quantity. This Brillant is a man whom the princess had taken into her house, and given to him the entire government of it. He was immediately seized, confessed that he had given a thousand crowns to the page, and bought these horses by command of his mistress, to go into Italy. This story is confirmed by the second messenger, who adds farther, that this Brillant had been made to write a letter to the valet, who was known to be at Poitiers, in which he desired him to come about

two hundred yards outside the gate, as he wanted to speak with him: he accordingly came immediately, and was seized by an ambuscade placed there, and brought to St. Jean-d'Angely. He had not yet been examined; but he often said to those who brought him, "Ah! the princess is a bad woman! "Let them seize the prince's tailor. I will dis- "close every thing, without being forced to it," which was done. This is all that is yet known. Recollect what I formerly told you: my judgment seldom deceives me:—*A bad woman is a very dangerous creature.* All these poisoners are Papists. These are the lady's instructions. I have discovered an assassin designed against me. God will protect me; and I will tell you more about it presently. The governor and officers of Taylebourg have sent two soldiers to me, and write that they will deliver up the place to no one but myself; which affords me great satisfaction. They are hard pressed by the enemy; but they are so anxious to keep their word with me, that they are not discouraged by it. No one is suffered to quit St. Jean, but those they send to me. M. de la Tremouille is there with only nineteen followers. They send me word, that if I make much delay it may be attended with bad consequences: this makes me hasten, so that I shall take twenty troopers, and travel thither day and night, in order to return to St. Foix, to the assembly. My life, I am very well in health, but in much affliction. Love me, and give me proofs that you do so; this will be a great consolation to me. I will not fail in the fidelity I have sworn to you, and in saying this I kiss your hands a thousand times.

LETTER XII.

March 15th.

YESTERDAY I wrote to you all that I knew; news has since arrived from the court. The duke d'Epernon has quarrelled with marshal d'Aumont, and his brother with Crillon.* Their dispute is so violent that they cannot be reconciled. The king's authority will be interposed in the affair. However, the league is in a great ferment: this affords us a little ease. I shall be at St. Jean by Thursday, from whence I will send you all the news. I have travelled two leagues to-day, all in the enemy's country. Good day, my life; be assured of the fidelity of your slave; he will never deceive you; he kisses your hands a thousand times.

LETTER XIII.

March 21st.

ON my arrival at Taylebourg, I found that Lavardyn had taken the island of Marants, with his army, which consists of four or five thousand men, and that nothing held out but the castle, which he was battering with two pieces of cannon. I set out immediately for this place, from Rochelle, to endeavour to succour the place, and assemble my troops, which I reckon will be sufficiently strong to give Lavardyn a check. All I fear is, that the castle is not well furnished with provisions, and that it will be surrendered from their hearing nothing of me. I have taken one of the forts, and am employed day and night in constructing bridges, for the water is very high in the marshes. Yesterday two Albanois

* The colonel of the French guards.

were killed, and two made prisoners, who came to reconnoitre our bridge. I have only slept an hour since I arrived here, being always on horseback. My life! hold me always in your good graces; and never entertain a doubt of my fidelity. Let me hear often from you. Adieu, my heart: your slave kisses your hands.

LETTER XIV.

Lusignan, May 20th, [1588.]

Sickness has broken out so much amongst our troops, that it will compel us to quit the field sooner than our enemies could have done. I am just on the point of procuring you an ambling horse, the handsomest you ever saw, and the best: he has a great many beautiful specks on him. Bonyere is gone to Poitiers to buy you some lute-strings; he will return this evening. Yesterday I had news from the court. The duke of Guise is still there. The prince of Parma has been compelled by the English to raise the siege of a town he had invested.* The battle was very severe; there fell 2,500 men, 1,500 of which were native Spaniards, 22 of these are captains; the rest are Englishmen. I am not very well. and am much afraid of falling sick. Marshal Biron does every thing in his power to assemble his forces: he will not be able to compel us to quit the field, unless he receive succours from France, or Gascony. My heart! remember always *Petyot;* certainly his fidelity is a miracle. He wishes for you a thousand times in the day, in the avenues of Lyranuse. You

* Probably the siege of Graves is here meant. See Bentivoglio, b. iv. pt. 2.

will consider whether he shall send you Rosambeau, to keep you from *ennuie*. That place must be wild indeed, where you two would be dull, when together. Those whom we sought yesterday are gone; they have not yet escaped. Farewell, my heart; I kiss thy hands a thousand times. Love me better than yourself.

LETTER XV.

Montguyon, June 25th.

I CAME hither in hopes of striking some blow against our enemies; but the weather has been so tempestuous, that it has disconcerted all our plans. I return to night to sleep at Barbesyeux, and to-morrow to Pons. You will gratify me by going to Pau. Ah, my dear, what would I give to be able to go thither! Such a pleasure is inestimable. I send you the copies of the letters which the queen of England wrote to the king and queen, on the peace of the league. You will discover in them a noble language, and a pleasing style. My heart, I cannot write a longer letter, as I am just going to mount my horse. Good-day, my life. I kiss thy hands, &c.

LETTER XVI.

October 21st.

GOD has done more than man could expect—certainly more than I could have expected, as you will see by the letter I wrote you yesterday. He sent us a tempestuous season, which astonished every one; but, on the other hand, he rendered valiant those who were sick, and increased the astonishment of the weak-hearted; so that, in the evening, after I had invoked him, he inspired me with the resolution to summon them at ten o'clock at night, against all military order, having, during the day,

discharged fifty shot without any effect. At the first sound of the trumpet they came to a parley, and the treaty was so speedily made, that they surrendered at ten o'clock; and, through God's special favour, I am now within the place. It is a strong place, and of great importance. On Monday I believe we shall make the grand attempt: therefore I will say, with David, "He who hath thus far "given me the victory over mine enemies, will also "make this affair easy." So may it happen through his goodness! My heart! I am a better man than you reckon me. Your last packet will teach me again that speed in writing which I had lost. Every night I read your letter: if I am in love with it, what must I be with her from whom it comes? Never had I so great a desire to see you as I have at present. If the enemy does not press hard upon us, after this assembly, I will steal a month. Send me Lyceran, under colour of his going to Paris. There is still a thousand things which cannot be written. Ah, my life! thou art made for me! For God's sake, do as your letter says. Is it possible, that, with so gentle an edge, I have cut the thread of your caprice? I would fain think so. I beseech you to forget all your hatred to every person about me: it is one of the first changes I wish to see in you. Neither fear, nor believe, that any thing can ever diminish my love. It is more ardent now than ever. Good night, my heart, I am going to sleep, my mind being freer from care than it has been these twenty days. I kiss thy beauteous eyes a thousand times.

LETTER XVII.

November 30th.

SEND me back Brysquieres, and he shall return with every thing you want, except myself. I am greatly afflicted at the loss of my little one,* who died yesterday; he was just beginning to talk. . . . . The enemy is before Montaigu, where they will be well drenched, for there is no shelter for a league round. The assembly will break up in ten days. Yesterday a great deal of intelligence reached me from Blois. I send you an extract of the most authentic.—A man is this instant arrived from Montaigu. They have made a bold sortie, and killed a great number of the enemy. I am sending all my troops thither, and hope, if the place can hold out fifteen days, to strike a blow there. What I wrote to you of not wishing ill to any person, is requisite both for your own peace and mine. I am speaking to you now as being wholly mine. My life! I have a strange desire to see you. Here is a man who is the bearer of letters from the king of Scotland to my sister: he presses me more than ever about the marriage; he offers to send me six thousand men, at his own expense, and to come himself to serve me. He will most undoubtedly be king of England. Prepare my sister beforehand to accept his offers favourably, by pointing out to her again our present situation, and the greatness of this Prince, as well as his virtues. I have not written to her about it. Introduce the subject in the course of conversation, by observing that it is time she should be married, and that there is no other match to be

* This was a son he had by Corisande d'Andoin.

expected for her but this; for as to our relations, it is a hopeless matter. Farewell, my heart! I kiss thee a hundred thousand times.*

LETTER XVIII.

Dec. 20th.

My life! the messenger who returned to me yesterday was seized near Montgaillard, and carried to M. Poyanne, who asked him if he had any letters: he said he had one which you had written to me; he took it, opened and read it, and then returned it to the bearer. M. de Plessis is arrived, and the rest of my troop from Nérac. I will travel in such wise, to visit you, as to have nothing to fear from the garrison of St. Sèvere. There is also a person coming from the foreign army, which is at Castel-jaloux; he will be here this morning. I will bring you all the news, and the power of emptying all the strong holds. On Sunday there was a fine charge made near Moneurt, which is well worth being known: the governor, with three cuirassiers, and ten horse arquebusiers, fell in with the lieutenant de la Brunyere, governor of the Masdagenois, who had 24 horsemen with him,

* The contents of this letter, as far as they relate to the king of Scotland, are curious from the circumstance of their being at variance with what is said by our historians respecting the proposed union between James and Henry's sister. Cambden and Robertson say it was the wish rather of Elizabeth than of James, and that the queen's object was to prevent his marriage with Anne of Denmark. But, if any attention is to be paid to what is mentioned above, both these opinions are erroneous; for James seems to have most anxiously desired the match, and it would probably have taken place, had not the princess Catherine been averse to it. The offer of sending succours to Henry, and of coming himself to serve him, is particularly deserving of notice, because it is even a "wider deviation from James's general character," than his gallant voyage to Denmark to bring home his bride.—See Robertson's Hist. of Scotland.

half of them arquebusiers also; our governor, seeing his party so weak, and as if lost, said to his companions, We must either kill them or perish ourselves; and immediately charged so desperately, that they killed the lieutenant, and two of his company, took other two prisoners, routed the rest, and gained five large horses, and all those of the arquebusiers, having only one man wounded. I have a great number of dispatches, to write to-night: the messengers will set off to-morrow noon, as I shall also do, to go and kiss your hands. Good-day, my sovereign good.

LETTER XIX.

December 22d.

You would think me solaced by having retired into our garrisons. Truly, if another assembly were to be held, I should become a fool. Thank God, every thing is finished well. I am going to Saint-Jean to assemble our troops, in order to pay a visit to the duke of Nevers, and perhaps shall occasion him a signal displeasure, not in his person, but in his post. You will hear of it presently. Every thing is in the hand of God, who has always blessed all my labours; through his favour, I am in good health, having nothing on my heart, but a desire to see you; I know not when I shall be so happy. If an opportunity present, I will show that I know how to take advantage of it. I will not entreat you to love me; as you have done it so entirely that there is no need of that. There are two things of which I can never doubt—you, my love, and its inviolability. I expect Lyceran; good friends are rarely to be found. At how high a price would I purchase three

hours conversation with you! Good night, my life! I wish I were in the corner of your chimney warming your pottage! I kiss you a thousand times.

LETTER XX.

New-year's day, [1589.]

Shall I never have any thing else to write to you but the surrender of towns and strong-holds? This night St. Maixant and Maillesaye surrendered to me, and before the end of this month I trust you will hear me spoken of. The king is triumphant; he has thrown the Cardinal de Guise into prison:* he showed him publicly for twenty-four hours. The President de Neuilly, and the provost des Marchands have been hanged, together with the secretary of the late duke of Guise, and three others:—"My son," said the queen-mother to his majesty—"grant me a request I wish to make you,"—"That depends upon the purport of it," was his answer—"It is to grant me M. de Nemours and the Prince of Guise; they are both young, and will one day do you service"—"With all my heart, madam," said he—"I give you their bodies but I will keep their heads to myself."—He has sent to Lyons to seize the duke de Maienne: it is not yet known whether he has succeeded. They are all at loggerheads at Orleans, and still nearer here—at Poitiers—of which I shall be within seven leagues to-morrow. If the king would permit me I would reconcile them. I pity you if you have such weather as it is here; it has froze for these last ten days.— I am in hourly expectation of hearing they have sent to strangle

* See Vol. I. p. 178.

the late queen of N - - - -:* this, with the death of her mother, would make me sing the song of Simeon. What a long letter is here for a warrior! good night, my life. I kiss thee a hundred million times. Love me, as you have reason to do.

LETTER XXI.

[*Mothe-Frelon, Jan.* 1589,]†

It was impossible to send Jere, on account of my illness, from which through God's help I am now recovering. You will presently hear of me in as honourable terms, as in the affair of Niort. - - -

LETTER XXII.

Montbazon, March 8th. [1589.*]

My life! God continues his blessings upon me. Since the capture of Chetellerault, I have taken the isle of Bouchart, a passage upon la Vienne and la Creuse; it is a fine town and may be easily fortified. We are at Montbazon, six leagues from Tours, where the king is. His army is encamped within two leagues of ours, without our requiring any thing of each other; our soldiers meet, and embrace each other, instead of fighting; though there is neither truce, nor orders to this effect. Many of the king's people come over to me, but none of mine are willing to change masters. I believe his majesty will employ me, for he is indisposed, and his loss is a bad omen for us. I am going to Chatellerault to seize some houses that are in rebellion. Tell Castille to take the field as soon as possible. This is the moment in which all my servants must do wonders; for, from natural causes, April or May will prepare the ruin of one or other of the parties—it will not be mine, since it is God's. My life! the greatest grief at my heart, is my being so far from you, and that I can only testify in writing the love which I have, and always will have for you.

I entreat you to send me your son.†

* See Vol. I. p. 185. † See Vol. I. p. 105.

LETTER XXIII.

Chatellerault, March 18th.

My heart! I have made an eight-days journey towards Berry, where I have not been useless, having taken, as if by miracle, the castle of Argenton, a stronger place than Leytour, defeated a troop of fifty chosen men of the league, who were marching to its relief, compelled upwards of three hundred gentlemen of the league, some to join me, others to promise not to stir from their homes, of whom I have taken pledges, and others not to stir under pain of having their houses seized. I have also taken le Blanc in Berri, and ten or twelve other strong holds; these bring in about 100,000 crowns annually. I am in very good health, thank God, and love nothing on earth but thee!—I have received your letter, but I have scarcely had time to read it. Good-night, my life, I kiss thee a million times.

LETTER XXIV.

Boisjancy, May 21st.

You will learn from the bearer of this, the happy success which God has granted us in one of the most desperate engagements that has taken place in this war.* He will tell you also how messieurs Longueville, la Nouë, and others have triumphed near Paris. If the king uses dispatch, as I hope he will, we shall soon be in sight of the spires of Notre Dame. I wrote to you only two days since, by Little John. God grant, that we may do something

* This took place near Chartres. See Vol. I. p. 191,2.

this week as great as we did the last. My life, love me ever. Farewell, my life!

LETTER XXV.

Camp before Pontoise, July 14th.

I expect your son, who is at no great distance; what he has to accomplish is full of danger; he will bring with him some troops which are marching to join me. We are before Pontoise,* which I do not think we shall take; it has been attacked against my consent;—the old ones carried the point; I think they were all dreaming. Hautefort was slain yesterday; his death is a great loss to the league. The enemy and us have been skirmishing the whole day—the river between us—their troops are not equal to ours, either in numbers or goodness. Isle Adam has also surrendered, which is a bridge over the river Oise; I shall fix my quarters there to-morrow, there will then be no longer any water between the duke of Maïenne and me: he is at St. Dennis. We shall in six days join the Swiss, who are conducted by Longueville and la Nouë. Though we are day and night on horseback, yet we find this war less fatiguing—the reason is, the mind is more at ease in it. The day-before-yesterday I passed my troops in review before the king, as he went over the bridge of Poissy: there were 1200 horse, and 4000 arquebusiers.

My life! I am sorely displeased when I find you entertain doubts of me; through spite, I will not endeavour to remove them: you are greatly to be blamed, for I swear to you I never loved you more ardently than I do at this moment; and I would

* See Vol. I. p. 194.

sooner die than forfeit the promises I have made you. Believe this, and live in confidence of my fidelity. Good night, my life! a million kisses.

LETTER XXVI.

*Trenches near Arques, Sept. 9th.**

My heart! it is wonderful how I support the labour I undergo: God hath pity upon me; and grants me his favour; blessing, as he does, my labours, in spite of many, I am in good health, and my affairs prosper, contrary to the expectations of a great number of people. Yesterday I took Eu; the enemy, who is now double my numbers, thought to catch me. Having completed my enterprise, I have approached near to Dieppe, and am waiting for them in a camp which I am fortifying. I shall see them to morrow, and hope with the help of my God, that if they attack me, they will come off with the worst; the bearer goes by sea—the wind and my affairs compel me to conclude, with kissing you a million times.

LETTER XXVII.

Falaise, Jan. 8th. [1590.]

My life! since the departure of Lycerace, I have taken the towns of Séez, Argentan, and Falaise, where I caught Brissac, and all the succours he had brought for Normandy. I set out to-morrow to the attack of Lisieux, in my way to meet the duke of Maïenne, who is besieging Pontoise.† Since Lycerace's departure, my troops have increased upwards

* See Vol. I. p. 203. † See Vol. I. p. 211,12.

of 600 gentlemen and two thousand infantry, so that, through God's favour, I fear nothing from the league. I have received the sacrament to-night, a ceremony, which, a year since, I little thought of being able to perform in Normandy. I shall in the course of three days send you one of my footmen by sea, on whose shores I now am. Certainly I make good progress, and go as God conducts me; for I never know what I shall do in the end; nevertheless my actions do miracles, so are they guided by the supreme master. I love nothing but you, and in this resolution I will die, if you give me no cause for the contrary. God be-thanked, I am very well! and entirely at your service. Farewell, my heart—a thousand kisses.

As I finished this letter the inhabitants of Bayeux have brought me the keys—it is a fine town.

LETTER XXVIII.

Lysieux, Jan. 16th.

My heart! you have not condescended to write to me by Byçose. Do you think that you act rightly in behaving thus coldly? I leave this question to be answered by your own judgment. I was very happy, to learn from him that your health is good: may God grant you a long continuance of it, and me a continuance of the blessings he has hitherto showered upon me. I have taken this place, though I did not fire a gun except as a feint; within it were 1000 soldiers and 100 gentlemen; it is the strongest place I have reduced to my power, and the most useful—for I shall draw from it 60,000 crowns. I live like a true Huguenot, for I entertain 10,000 foreigners, and keep my right, by what I gain daily;

and I will tell you, that God so blesses me, that there is scarcely any sickness in my army, which increases daily. I was never in such good health, nor never loved you more ardently than at this moment. On the truth of this, I kiss thee, my life, a million times.

LETTER XXIX.

Jan. 29th.

My heart! I have carried my conquests to the borders of the ocean. May God bless my return as he has done my advance: it will be through his favour; for to him I assign all the good fortune that befalls me. I trust you will soon hear of some of my exploits: may God grant me his favour in them. The legate, the Spanish ambassador, the duke of Maïenne, the whole of the chiefs of the enemy are assembled at Paris; my ears ought to tingle, for they talk a great deal about me. Yesterday I received some of your letters by de Revignan. I was very glad to hear you are well; for myself, I am in good health, and love you more than ever.

Good night, my life; I shall sleep longer to-night than I have done these seven nights. A thousand kisses.

LETTER XXX.

Before Vendome.

My life! be under no apprehension that I do not take care of myself; but my chief trust is in God, who, through his favour will protect me. Your son will be hear to-night completely recovered. We are before Vendome, which I hope to take to-morrow; and I am desirous to clear the environs of Tours before I repair thither. The schemes which

are every where formed are incredible. I say within myself, the devil is unchained, but God will be above all, consequently my affairs will go on well, for in him is all my trust. Be ever assured of my fidelity—it is inviolable. Good-day, my life; I am going to the trenches; I kiss thee a million times. Our German horse have entered Champagne, to the number of 3,000, with 5,000 foot; for the great levy will not arrive till June. I shall send in the course of two days, marshal d'Aumont to employ them in Lorraine, till, after I have completed my work at Tours, I can join them, which will be in December; I think I can assure you I shall be in Paris by the end of January. Farewell.

LETTER XXXI.

Chelles, May 13th.

My life, I beseech you to excuse me, if, in case M. de Turenne should unhappily die, I do not bestow on your son the post you have asked for him; it is not a proper one, and, besides, it would make him useless; for, from the moment they undertake this employment, it is so slothful a one, that it is the ruin of young men. You have given him to me; let me bring him up as I like; and be you under no anxiety about him. I shall take such care of him that you shall know how much I love him for your sake. I have spoken to Labasse about him, and your other affairs. I am angry when you think I have nothing to do but to will: I protest to you, that since I have been king of Navarre, I have not experienced so much want as during this last year. I am before Paris, where God will aid me. By taking it I shall begin to feel the effects of the crown. I have taken the bridges of Charenton and St. Maur,

by battering them, and hanged all I found there. Yesterday I carried the suburbs of Paris by storm.* The enemy's loss was great—our's but trifling; it is true, indeed, that la Nouë was wounded, but it will be nothing. I have burnt all their mills, as I have done in all the other parts. They are reduced to great want, and, if not relieved within twelve days, must surrender. I have sent for your son, as I think he will perform something great here; I keep Castille with me for eight days. I am in good health, thank God, and love you far more than you do me. God grant me peace, that I may enjoy a few years of rest!—indeed I watch without ceasing. It is scarcely credible how many persons are employed about me to kill me; but God will defend me. I am very faithfully served; and I can tell you that the enemy will occasion me more harm than fear. With this assurance, my heart, I kiss thy hands, mouth, and eyes, a million times.

LETTER XXXII.

July 15th.

You will presently hear of me by Lavie, for whom I have done in your favour, a thing which has give him satisfaction. Saint Dennis and Dammartin have yielded. Paris is so closely blockaded that there must either be a battle this week, or a treaty for capitulation. On Monday the Spaniards will join the Great Duke; we will see whether he will have courage enough to fight. I lead your son daily to some skirmish or other.

Castille is enraged that his regiment does not arrive. Yesterday I saw some ladies who had quitted

* See Vol. 1. p. 235.

Paris; they told me a great deal about their sufferings. I am very well, thank God, and love nothing on this earth so dearly as you; this is what I trust you will never doubt of. On the truth of this, my life, I kiss thy beauteous eyes a thousand times, which I will through life esteem the dearest objects in this world.

LETTER XXXIII.

[*In* 1590.]

My heart, since the departure of Maraval, nothing fresh has occurred, except that the remains of the Walloons have returned into Flanders, in spite of all the duke of Maïenne's endeavours to stop them: the Reitres have done the same, after having been almost all plundered even by their own party. The Legate is at this moment desirous of treating for a peace; he talks no longer about excommunication: believe me I shall act with vigilance and not suffer myself to be over-reached. I am very well, thank God, and love you as much as you can desire. You would pity me, if you saw me, for I am so burthened with business that I absolutely sink under the weight of it. Love me as you would one who will never change his sentiments towards you. This is saying enough. I kiss thy beauteous eyes a million times.

LETTER XXXIV.

October 18th.

I have received all you sent me, which I will keep as I ought. God knows with what joy I received your letter. Confess now, that you wish to afflict me. I have always loved you most unfeignedly, and that love was founded on your self and your virtues; these two pillars united can never be over-

thrown. But let us quit this subject: the die is already cast, there ought to be no longer any doubts between us. I am in good bodily health; but my mind is ill at ease, having besieged a castle, at first by starving the garrison, but, afterwards, the weather frustrated my designs. Though your - - - - - has told you, I have been obliged to embark in it in good earnest. I have great doubts of the issue; the weather is much against me; and the enemy is using their utmost endeavours to collect their forces to overpower me. You will soon know the result of it, by the way of Marsan, since it is your desire. God, who hath always blessed my labours, will perhaps give me better success than I hope for; therefore visit my sister oftener than you have hitherto done: I know there is no danger in telling her every thing; she will like you the better for it.

The count of Soissons says his marriage with Mademoiselle - - - - - is much spoken of. He denies having loved Essa, though, he says, she loved him. The states had not opened yesterday: their meeting is variously spoken of. Yesterday fourteen of Bouillé's troopers, under his lieutenant, fell in with the best company of Mercœur's light-horse, consisting of thirty lances, of which only three escaped. The greater part of ours were unarmed, not thinking the enemy were so near: their leader is taken. Of ours - - - - - is wounded, and eight gentlemen, but none of them mortally. In two days I shall send a messenger to you, and will be as careful to let you hear of me, as I am to hear of you. I am going to the trenches. Farewell, my soul; I kiss thee a million times.

Since I wrote my letter, I have staid two days at Arsac, in hopes of hearing something new.

LETTER XXXV.

Camp before Amiens, Sept. 11th. 1597.*

MADAM,

I clearly discover that you have been on the other side of the mountains, where you were occupied in my service; I also know that your presence there was very necessary. Within these fifteen days the forces of France and Spain have been in sight of each other, and it was God's pleasure that these swaggerers should retire with shame. The cardinal came to relieve this place by stratagem, but he also has returned shamefully without doing any thing. To morrow we shall enter the place, and I shall then immediately take the field with my army, for the remainder of this month and the next. If God bless my efforts, as I hope and pray for, we will be in a condition to bid them defiance. As Grammont is no longer of any service yonder, I have ordered him hither; for he may still learn with me, and I naturally love him. I have a great desire to make a tour into Anjou and Brittany, to reduce the duke of Mercœur to reason. Farewell, madam. I kiss your hands.

LETTER XXXVI.†

MY dear heart, yesterday evening I showed my wife your letter, and asked her advice what answer I should send you. I remarked her countenance

* See Vol. II. p. 182. Corisande was now countess of Guiche.

† The five following Letters are to the marchioness d'Vernueil.

particularly, to discover whether she betrayed any emotion as she read your letter, as I have seen her do at other times, when she heard you mentioned. She answered without any ill-will that I was master, and could do as I pleased; but that it seemed to her I ought to satisfy you in this: she was very merry all the remainder of the evening; and we talked of you at different times; and she told me that if the princess of Conti had seen her read your letter, she would have been greatly grieved at it; for that she torments herself so much about every thing, that she is not surprised she is so lean. Send your carriage, and what is necessary to bring them: on Wednesday they will be at Chaillot, as I did not wish they should stop in Paris, on account of the flux which is prevalent there. I shall send some of my gentlemen with them. The duke of Mantua is coming to see me *incog.* with forty post horses: he will be here by the 21st. When we return to Paris, I will send you word to return our *Marmots* to Saint Germain. Love me sincerely, my dear heart, I swear to you, you are as dear to me as ever. Good-night a million kisses.

LETTER XXXVII.

My dear heart, I was engaged the whole of yesterday in receiving the duke of Mantua, who is certainly an excellent Prince, and one of the most courteous in the world. On Tuesday, I think of carrying him to St. Germain. Our disturbers are very busy, and sound me on all sides; these women are very wicked, but they possess no longer my wife's ear; she enquires after our son, and says she heard you were very ill. She has now for some

time mentioned you without changing colour, for she betrays no emotion, and we have long talked of these discords. I am very well, thank God, and love you much better than you do me, for it is not restrained, or qualified as your's is. Good day, my all, a million kisses—I beseech you talk to me no more about to-morrow.

LETTER XXXVIII.

My dear heart, it was not my devotions which prevented me from writing to you; for I do not think I do wrong in loving you more than any thing in this world; the cause was, that on quitting the chapel I found myself so much indisposed, that I was obliged to go to bed almost-half-dead; and to complete my misfortune, on Easter-day,* I touched two hundred and fifty sick persons;—yesterday I took some medicine, which seems not to have done me much service; for I have not slept any these eight days, and my blood is so heated that I am in continual uneasiness. To morrow I will be bled. In the evening I will send you word how I am. I can tell you, you are my dear heart, which I kiss a million times.

LETTER XXXIX.

When you refuse to do what I request of you, all your fine professions will not satisfy me; I find them always contrary to effects: it is not at this time only, that I have conceived this opinion; but your conduct and actions confirm me more and more in

* April 6th, 1608.

it. With respect to the Jubilee,* as it is general you can just as well celebrate it with your chaplain, as here. Good-night; I kiss your hands.

LETTER XL.

You say you no longer know what to do, to give me satisfaction; and yet you have not even tried to do it, nor answered the first complaint contained in my letter. You have succeeded so badly in lording it over me, that you ought to have become wise. You threaten me with going to Verneuil: do as you please; if you do not love me, I can very well dispense with seeing you; if you say you love me, it is a very bad proof of it to depart when I arrive. By this action I shall know what you are. I shall be at Paris on Thursday, as ill-satisfied with you as ever, unless you change your style. On this truth I kiss your hands.

LETTER XLI.

You are mistaken in your letter: for you say I am "your dear heart," and that you are not mine: I have never robbed you of any thing, but you have deprived me of every thing you could. This is a reason against which there is no answer; do not torture your mind to discover one; for it is better to remain silent than to utter a bad excuse. For me, I love you dearer than I do myself. I swear this to you, my love, but do you think to feed me

* Sept. 6th, 1608.

with stones after having given me bread? Consider my age, my rank, my mind, and my affection, and you will do that which you do not. Good-day, my all. A million kisses.

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